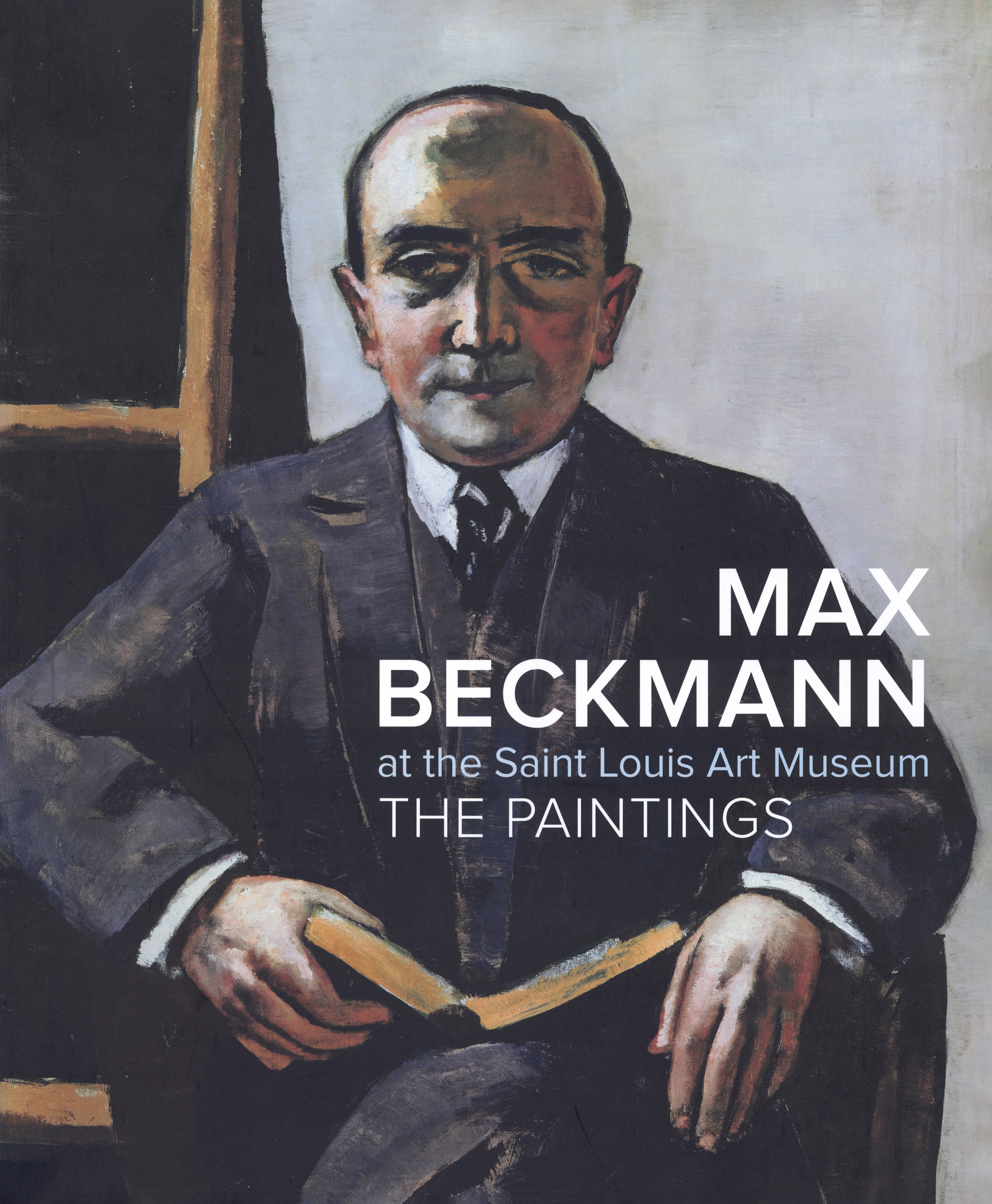

MAX BECKMANN

at the Saint Louis Art Museum

THE PAINTINGS

MAX BECKMANN

at the Saint Louis Art Museum

THE PAINTINGS

One of the greatest German painters of the twentieth century, Max Beckmann (1884–1950) arrived in the United States in the mid-1940s and settled in St. Louis, where he took a teaching position at Washington University. There Beckmann met and befriended the retailer Morton D. May. By the time May died, in 1983, he had amassed the largest collection of Beckmann's art in private hands. The collector bequeathed most of his holdings to the Saint Louis Art Museum, which, as a result, has more paintings by the artist than any other museum in the world.

Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum, by Lynette Roth, is the first book to examine in-depth all thirty-nine paintings from the museum's renowned collection. Featuring some of Beckmann's most celebrated images, it offers fascinating insights into Beckmann's life and art—in particular his underappreciated early work and previously unexplored aspects of his final years in the United States. Divided into six chapters, the book traces Beckmann's entire career, including his involvement with the Berlin Secession; his post–World War I life and rise to fame; the impact of Parisian culture on his art; his life under Nazi rule and his highly productive years in Amsterdam, despite the constraints of wartime exile; his role in the St. Louis art scene in the late 1940s; his final sixteen months in New York City, and his complex relationship to his adopted country. Accompanying each chapter is a discussion of relevant works, documentary photographs, and comparative illustrative material that will deepen readers' understanding of Beckmann's evolution as an artistic force. Thorough provenance, treatment and condition, and exhibition histories, along with literature, are provided for each painting. The book also includes a chronological list of exhibitions in which the Saint Louis Art Museum's paintings by Beckmann have been featured as well as a full bibiography.

This 272-page volume features 147 color reproductions that, along with more than 40 black-and-white illustrations, underscore the stunning breadth and power of Beckmann's oeuvre.

MAX BECKMANN

at the Saint Louis Art Museum

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THE PAINTINGS

LYNETTE ROTH

Saint Louis Art Museum

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Foreword

Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings constitutes the first in-depth scholarly examination of the paintings in the Saint Louis Art Museum by this leading twentieth-century German-born artist. The collection of thirty-nine canvases by Max Beckmann is the world's largest. Encompassing his entire career and virtually all of the themes he explored, it provides an opportunity to examine the richness and diversity of his painted oeuvre.

St. Louis has played a remarkable role in Beckmann's career, both during his lifetime and posthumously. The artist spent nearly two years here as a professor at Washington University, finding close associations between this river city and Frankfurt am Main, where he had lived and taught. He also enjoyed a special relationship with the Saint Louis Art Museum, in particular with Perry Rathbone, the museum's director from 1940 until 1955. In 1946 Rathbone purchased the museum's first Beckmann, and in 1948 he organized the first major retrospective of Beckmann's work in the United States.

The Saint Louis Art Museum's unsurpassed collection of Beckmann's paintings is the result of the remarkable generosity of his St. Louis collectors, most notably the department-store owner Morton D. May, who in 1983 bequeathed to the museum thirty-five paintings, as well as works in other media, by the artist. In the wake of this transformative gift, the museum organized "Max Beckmann Retrospective" in 1984–85, in partnership with the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen and the Haus der Kunst, Munich; and "Max Beckmann and Paris" in 1998–99, with the Kunsthaus Zurich. In 2002 the museum acquired the Neumann-Frumkin collection of 351 prints and book illustrations by the artist, bringing the number of prints by Beckmann in the museum to 374 and making the Saint Louis Art Museum the repository of one of the largest collections of his prints in the world. This is in addition to the collection's nineteen drawings and watercolors, four illustrated books, one textile, and one sculpture.

At the Saint Louis Art Museum, Beckmann's output is framed by an exceptionally strong collection of works by German twentieth-century and contemporary artists ranging from Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Emil Nolde to Anselm Kiefer and Gerhard Richter. The museum's contemporary holdings were published in 2003, and a scholarly catalogue on our German expressionist works is planned. In 2011 the museum installed an overview of Beckmann's major large-scale paintings in a single gallery at the museum's center, while other works by him hang in adjacent galleries alongside examples by his German and French contemporaries.

This volume is the result of many years of research on the part of its author, Lynette Roth, Daimler-Benz Curator of the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard Art Museums, and formerly Andrew W. Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow at the Saint Louis Art Museum. She has brought scholarly rigor and great devotion to the project, and we are grateful for her efforts. Simon Kelly, Curator of Modern and Contemporary Art, has thoughtfully supervised the project's development. *Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings* exemplifies our ongoing commitment to the work of Max Beckmann and to stewarding the legacy that pathbreaking and generous donors such as Morton D. May have left to our museum, our city, and beyond.

Brent R. Benjamin
Director, The Saint Louis Art Museum

Preface

SIMON KELLY

Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings focuses on the art of arguably the greatest German artist of the twentieth century. The Saint Louis Art Museum's collection of thirty-nine paintings—the world's largest—by Max Beckmann (1884–1950) covers the full scope of his career and is uniquely suited to highlight the diversity of his output. No other museum collection of his painted oeuvre does this to the same degree. Included in the collection are two early large-scale disaster scenes, several psychologically penetrating pictures from the 1920s, one of his great triptychs, and the last of his many self-portraits. They include figurative paintings—scenes from mythology, history, and the world of entertainment, as well as portraits and nudes—still lifes, and landscapes, all highlighting Beckmann's engagement with a number of artistic genres, as well as his efforts to challenge and reconceptualize those genres. Perhaps even more important, the paintings in the Saint Louis Art Museum reflect the remarkably complicated and traumatic historical era in which Beckmann lived, as he experienced two world wars, the rise of fascism, exile, and emigration. Thus we find the trauma of post–World War I Germany in *The Dream* (cat. 9) and an allusion to Nazi bellicosity in *The Acrobats* (cat. 19). We see too Beckmann's complex relationship with the rich avant-garde traditions of his age, such as impressionism, expressionism, cubism, New Objectivity, and even abstraction.[1] Throughout his career, Beckmann maintained his independence, mostly refusing to connect himself directly with these movements. He even took a position that might be perceived as conservative, as in his early debates with the radical painter Franz Marc.[2] Yet his art engaged with and reflected the newest artistic developments and thus was fully participatory in twentieth-century modernism.

This volume appears at a moment of considerable interest in Beckmann's work, particularly his output of some 835 paintings (he was also a prodigious draftsman and printmaker). Indeed, his name is often mentioned in the same breath as more established masters such as Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse, artists with whom he saw himself in competition. Beckmann's reception has always been strong in Germany, and his work has attracted much attention in the United States. In this country, modernism—as articulated principally by the first director of New York's Museum of Modern Art, Alfred H. Barr Jr., and the influential art critic Clement Greenberg—has centered on a francocentric canon but has nonetheless engaged extensively with German twentieth-century art. Barr for example organized an exhibition of contemporary German painting and sculpture at MoMA in 1931.[3] While Greenberg developed his modernist narrative around the work of Édouard Manet and the Paris-based cubists, he also showed an openness to German art, as seen in a 1946 review of a Beckmann exhibition where he praised the "power of Beckmann's emotion" and compared his work to that of the French artist Georges Rouault, arguing for the German's superiority.[4] Greenberg viewed the development of modern painting as a pictorial drive toward abstraction and flatness on the canvas surface. Beckmann's lifetime focus on figuration and commitment to the articulation of three-dimensional space certainly complicated his position within that approach. Nonetheless, German art—from Beckmann to Marc and from Ernst Ludwig Kirchner to Emil Nolde—has been central to our understanding of modernism. Beckmann's pivotal position within this tradition is signified by two 2003 exhibitions held in several European cities and New York.[5]

The last decade has witnessed a range of ambitious publications that have extensively expanded the corpus of knowledge concerning Beckmann's career.[6] Building on the canonical catalogue raisonné of the artist's paintings by the artist's friend Erhard Göpel and his wife, Barbara, published in 1976, catalogues raisonnés of his pastels and watercolors, as well as of his sketchbooks, have appeared. In 2008 the Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich—the other most representative museum collection of Beckmann's work—published a scholarly catalogue of its holdings by the artist.[7] Other recent scholarship has critically evaluated Beckmann's complex position in twentieth-century art.[8] There has been a growing number of international exhibitions of his work, often organized in terms of a particular genre in his output, such as landscape, portraiture, still life, or the nude.[9] Beckmann's dialectical engagement with fellow modernists such as

Picasso, Fernand Léger, and Otto Dix has been explored, as has his place within a broad internationalist tradition grounded in the art of Paul Cézanne.[10] Beckmann's work has also influenced contemporary artists such as the American abstract painter Ellsworth Kelly and the South African artist William Kentridge.[11] Thus the present catalogue appears at an important moment in the evaluation of German art and of Beckmann in particular.

Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings is authored by Lynette Roth, Daimler-Benz Curator of the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard Art Museums. Roth has devoted herself to this project from her arrival in 2008 at the Saint Louis Art Museum as an Andrew W. Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow. She worked on and completed the book after her fellowship ended in late 2010, when she assumed her current position. Like any project of this magnitude, the catalogue has required not only extensive research, observational skill, and measured analysis, but also devotion, patience, and stamina, all of which Roth possesses. We are grateful to her for this monumental accomplishment.

The volume contains detailed and definitive entries on each of the paintings in the collection, most featuring relevant comparative illustrations. The entries situate the works within Beckmann's career and life, present extensive iconographical and formal analysis, summarize treatment by previous scholars and critics, and trace provenance. For each painting, a separate section provides inscriptions, alternative titles, selected marks and labels, comprehensive lists of the literature on it and the exhibitions in which it has appeared, and related works. The entries are arranged chronologically in six chapters, each headed by an introduction that considers Beckmann's works in the context of the period under discussion. Organized around place, the chapters highlight the locations of central importance in Beckmann's career. We move from Berlin (Chapter 1) to Frankfurt (Chapter 2) to Paris (Chapter 3) to Amsterdam (Chapter 4) and finally to St. Louis (Chapter 5) and New York (Chapter 6). This structure enables us to consider Beckmann in a national context as a German, and also, transnationally, as both a European and American artist. On the one hand, we see the artist's evolving relationship with his German homeland, moving from his controversial displays at Berlin Secession exhibitions in the 1910s to his official triumphs, such as his first major retrospective at the Kunsthalle Mannheim (in 1928) and a gallery devoted to his art at the Nationalgalerie, Berlin (1932–33).[12] We then witness his marginalization with the rise of the National Socialists, culminating in the "Entartete Kunst" exhibition of 1937, when his work was declared "degenerate" and "culturally bolshevik." Alongside this German history, we are introduced to the artist's relationship with Paris in the late 1920s and early 1930s and his deliberate efforts to forge in the art capital of Europe a new market and public for his work and to compete with the other great masters of the age, such as Picasso and Matisse. We then turn to Beckmann's exile in Amsterdam during and after the war, a particularly difficult period that nonetheless proved to be his most artistically productive. Finally we see Beckmann's relationship with American painting in the late 1940s and the tensions between his resolutely figurative work and the emergence of abstract expressionism. Woven into this chronological structure are examinations of Beckmann's engagement with various genres, such as the eleven portraits in the collection, which span his career; the six still lifes from his final two decades; nine landscapes; and several nudes.

Scholars writing on Beckmann in the 1950s into the early 1980s, such as Peter Selz and Charles Haxthausen, explored the complexity of symbolic and metaphysical resonances in his work.[13] Recent postmodernist perspectives have reflected more socio-political approaches, considering for example the artist's complex relationship with National Socialism, including his problematic links to Nazi Party officials or sympathizers in the 1930s.[14] There have also been valuable gendered readings, focusing on Beckmann's attitude toward women, and examinations of his relationship to popular culture, such as his fascination with jazz.[15] *Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings* explores the diversity of readings of Beckmann's art, provides a balanced summation of these varied interpretations, and posits new ways of understanding the work. The catalogue also provides fresh insight into Beckmann's artistic process and the complexity of his painterly practice. Every painting has received detailed technical analysis by Saint Louis Art Museum conservator Paul Haner, in close association with Roth, which has resulted in fascinating new information on Beckmann's working methods. To cite only two examples, X-rays demonstrate that the ocean liner in *Sinking of the Titanic* (cat. 7) was originally depicted upended, with much of its massive hull already underwater. Revealed beneath *Carnival Mask, Green, Violet, and Pink (Columbine)* (cat. 38) is a portrait of a prominent figure in the German art world, Fritz Wichert, painted in the 1920s and thought to have been destroyed. Alongside this technical analysis, the catalogue also historicizes Beckmann's work by placing it within the context of contemporary critical debates such as those of the late 1920s in which his painterly style was compared to the art of the School of Paris as well as to that of the Austrian Oskar Kokoschka.

The book traces Beckmann's evolving public and private identity, as well as his developing intellectual interests. As his diaries and notes (as well as his extensive library) show, the artist was deeply literate and cultured. Even as a young man, he was highly conversant in the philosophy of Goethe, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche.[16] Later on he became increasingly

drawn to the writings of the theosophist Helena P. Blavatsky, reading (and annotating) her *Secret Doctrine* (1888) at least six times between 1934 and 1950. From her he probably derived his oft-quoted assertion that he aimed in his art to "render the invisible visible." He also studied Hindu mysticism and the Kabbalah. These interests manifest themselves fully in the complex symbolism of his art (particularly in his later work) and in his development of a very personal iconography of kings, fish, sirens, and bellboys, as well as characters from the circus, carnival, and theater. Considered together, they reveal that, alongside his concern for the *vita contemplativa*, Beckmann always maintained an enthusiasm for the *vita activa*. Charming holiday films that his second wife, Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, made in the late 1920s record the artist skiing at St. Moritz, swimming on the French Riviera, and playing tennis (interestingly, he played left-handed and painted right-handed). To the end of his life, he was a vigorous hiker.

Beckmann's fascination with arcane mythology and intellectualism is complicated by his savvy business acumen and, as Roth notes (see especially Chapter 3), his very conscious efforts to construct a strategy for showing and selling his work in Germany and abroad. This included several periods in which the artist held back his art from exhibition in order to develop it to his satisfaction and also to create an element of suspense and surprise for audiences. Roth provides intriguing information on his prices, which did not compare to those for the art of established French modernists (the Folkwang Museum, Essen, for example paid two hundred thousand marks in 1927 for Manet's *Portrait of Faure as Hamlet*). Nonetheless, Beckmann's prices were often considerably higher than those of other prominent avant-garde artists such as Kirchner.[17] The prices of many of the paintings in St. Louis can be traced in Beckmann's three extant account books; they range from 1,200 marks for his early portraits to the inflationary sum of 30,000 marks that the dealer J. B. Neumann paid for *The Dream* in 1921. The artist's exile in Amsterdam deeply affected sales of his work, as he largely lost his patron base in Germany and found that the Nazis were selling his art to non-German buyers for very low amounts. He also sold his work cheaply, particularly to the New York emigré dealer Curt Valentin. Even in America in the late 1940s, Beckmann's prices were lower than what he had received at his commercial height in Germany two decades earlier.[18]

Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings highlights the rich collecting history of Beckmann's art in St. Louis. In the Introduction, Roth explores the remarkable support that Beckmann received from the department-store magnate Morton D. May, who created the world's largest private collection of the artist's work, much of which he bequeathed to the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1983. May was part of a sophisticated network around Beckmann in St. Louis in the late 1940s, a network in which Perry Rathbone, then director of the City Art Museum (the institution's name changed in 1972), figured prominently. Not only was Rathbone instrumental in bringing Beckmann to the city (the artist accepted a teaching position at Washington University), but in 1946 he also purchased the first Beckmann to enter the museum's collection, *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21). The art historian H. W. Janson also bought a Beckmann painting, *Artists and Vegetables*, for Washington University that same year.[19] This patronage built on an existing tradition of Beckmann collecting in St. Louis. Joseph Pulitzer Jr. was among the first American collectors to buy the artist's work, acquiring *Portrait of Zeretelli* (1927; Fogg Museum, Harvard Art Museums) as early as 1939, as well as three other paintings by the artist at a later date.[20] Pulitzer considered acquiring the artist's magisterial triptych *Departure* (fig. 24), but he did not do so.[21] The foresight and perspicacity of these men is the principal reason for the exceptional collection of Beckmann's paintings in the Saint Louis Art Museum.

The Saint Louis Art Museum has also played a central role in establishing Beckmann's standing by organizing several major exhibitions over the decades. In 1948 Rathbone oversaw the first major retrospective of Beckmann's work in the United States, an initiative in which the artist was fully involved.[22] Beckmann indeed knew the museum collection well, referring in 1950 to its "beautiful treasures."[23] In subsequent years, there were prominent displays of Morton May's collection of works by Beckmann and the German expressionists, including a major traveling show around the country in 1960–63.[24] May himself organized an extensive tour of his collection in Europe in 1968–69, which played a major role in reestablishing Beckmann's reputation, especially in his native land. In the wake of the 1983 May bequest, the museum organized the landmark "Max Beckmann Retrospective" on the occasion of the centenary of the artist's birth. This 1984–85 exhibition was organized with Munich's Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen and Haus der Kunst. Also seen at Berlin's Nationalgalerie and the Los Angeles County Museum of Art, it explored the artist's diverse output in all media.[25] In 1998–99 the museum organized "Beckmann and Paris," a partnership with the Kunthaus Zurich, focusing on the artist's complex relationship with the French capital and its modern artists.[26] His work has also been situated within the context of contemporary German art through exhibitions such as "German Art Now" (2003), which have foregrounded the museum's rich holdings in this area.[27]

Max Beckmann at the Saint Louis Art Museum: The Paintings aims to communicate to both scholarly and general audiences information and scholarship—at once analytic and factual, biographical and technical, new and definitive—specifically about the museum's thirty-nine canvases but also the artist's overall achievement. Beckmann had an elevated

sense of art's purpose, affirming in his final public speech, delivered in St. Louis in the summer of 1950: "Art, with religion and the sciences, has always supported and liberated man on his path. Art resolves through form the many paradoxes of life, and sometimes permits us to glimpse behind the dark curtain that hides those unknown spaces where one day we shall be unified."[28] We believe that this publication succeeds in shedding light into "those unknown spaces" while underscoring the sense of mystery that contributes to the depth and greatness of this artist's complex work.

NOTES

My thanks to Sabine Eckmann and Lynette Roth for their comments on a draft of this essay.

1. The New Objectivity movement, in its return to realism, had a problematic relationship with the avant-garde tradition but nonetheless can be considered as having made an important contribution to this tradition.

2. See Max Beckmann, "Thoughts on Timely and Untimely Art" (1912), in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 113–17.

3. New York 1931.

4. Clement Greenberg, "Art [review of exhibitions of works by Max Beckmann and Robert De Niro]," *The Nation* (May 18, 1946), p. 610, cited in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 2, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 80–81.

5. See Paris et al. 2002–3; London/New York 2003.

6. Zeiller 2010 (sketchbooks). See also Beckmann/Gohr 2006 (watercolors and pastels).

7. See Billeter et al. 2008. The Pinakothek der Moderne, Munich, has thirty-seven paintings by Beckmann. This collection, despite its impressiveness, does not possess the chronological range of the Beckmann paintings at the Saint Louis Art Museum. There is, for example, nothing from the years 1907 to 1921 in the Munich museum.

8. See in particular Washton Long/Makela 2009. MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997 also remains essential.

9. In 2011–12 three exhibitions were mounted in Europe: on the artist's landscapes (Basel 2011–12), on his portraits (Leipzig 2011–12), and his association with the United States (Frankfurt 2011–12). An exhibition on Beckmann's still lifes took place at the Hamburger Kunsthalle in 2014–15 ("Max Beckmann: Die Stilleben").

10. See Munich 2012 (on Picasso, De Kooning, and Beckmann), Cologne 2005 (Léger and Beckmann), and "Dix/Beckmann. Mythos Welt," at the Kunsthalle Mannheim, in 2013. Anabelle Kienle, "Cézanne and Beckmann: 'A Powerful New Pictorial Architecture,'" in Joseph J. Rishel and Katherine Sachs, eds., *Cézanne and Beyond* (Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art, 2009), pp. 307–26. The latter exhibition focused on twentieth- and twenty-first century artists who were influenced by the work of Cézanne; Beckmann's art played a central role in this narrative. The reinstallation of Beckmann's work at the Saint Louis Art Museum in 2011–13 by the present author also placed his work within the context of the French tradition, juxtaposing his still lifes with examples by Picasso and his nudes with works by Matisse.

11. See Ellsworth Kelly, "Boston, Beckmann and After," in London/New York 2003, p. 237; and William Kentridge, "Beckmann's Death," in ibid., pp. 181–84.

12. The room, installed in the Kronprinzenpalais (the modern-art annex of the Nationalgalerie), was opened on Feb. 15, 1932, but was deinstalled the following year, following the ascent to power of the National Socialists.

13. See Selz 1974; and Haxthausen 1985.

14. Georg von Schnitzler, the husband of Beckmann's patron Lilly von Schnitzler, was not only a Nazi but was also involved in the production of chemicals used in concentration camps. I am grateful to Sabine Eckmann for this information. Apparently, Lilly von Schnitzler, calling the artist a genius, recommended him to Joseph Goebbels unsuccessfully. Erhard Göpel, the artist's friend and later the author (with his wife) of the 1976 catalogue raisonné of his paintings, confiscated art for the Nazis in Amsterdam. Although relatively unpolitical, Beckmann was ready to be supported by a range of patrons, including Nazi sympathizers, as well as Jews. Among the former were Rudolf Binding, whose portrait he painted in 1935, and the right-wing conservative Prince Carl Anton Von Rohan (see intro. to Chap. 3). According to Frank Druffner, the artist probably also met the German foreign minister Joachim von Ribbentrop at least once. Frank Druffner, "Max Beckmann Paints a Poet in 1935: The Intellectual and Artistic Atmosphere in Early Nazi Berlin," lecture, Kemper Art Museum, Washington University, St. Louis, Oct. 8, 2013.

15. Munich 2012; Marsha Morton, "'Painted Sounds': Music in the Art of Max Beckmann," in Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. 135–64.

16. For Beckmann's library, see Beckmann/Schaffer 1992. For a useful summary of his literary interests, see Anabelle Kienle, "Max Beckmann's Reading," in Bern 2006, pp. 152–53.

17. Kirchner for example asked five hundred to one thousand marks for paintings by him on view at the Kunstverein, Jena, in 1917.

18. In 1949 Beckmann sold *Large Picture of Women. Fisherwomen* (cat. 30) to Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery, New York, for $1,200. For other prices, see for example cats. 15, note 14; cat. 25, note 10; cat. 35, note 6.

19. The university acquired this work from Buchholz Gallery, New York.

20. These are *Souvenir of Chicago* (1948; Göpel 759), which Pulitzer acquired in 1948; *Masquerade* (cat. 29), which he purchased in 1957; and *Portrait of Louise Pulitzer* (1949; Göpel 781), which he acquired in 1950.

21. See Marjorie B. Cohn, *Classic Modern: The Art Worlds of Joseph Pulitzer Jr.* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Art Museums, 2012), pp. 193–95.

22. St. Louis et al. 1948. The retrospective exhibition, comprising 132 paintings, drawings, and prints, was organized by the City Art Museum, where it opened. It then traveled to the Detroit Institute of Arts; the Los Angeles County Museum of Art; the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, Fine Arts Museums of San Francisco; the Baltimore Museum of Art; the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Mass.; and the Minneapolis Institute of Arts.

23. Max Beckmann, "Speech for Friends and Faculty During Commencement Week Activities," Washington University, St. Louis, June 5, 1950; see MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 319.

24. St. Louis 1960; Los Angeles et al. 1960–63.

25. St. Louis et al. 1984–85.

26. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99.

27. See Cornelia Homburg, ed., *German Art Now* (London: Merrell, in association with the Saint Louis Art Museum, 2003). See also Jack Cowart and Siegfried Gohr, *Expressions: New Art from Germany: Georg Baselitz, Jörg Immendorff, Anselm Kiefer, Markus Lupertz, A. R. Penck* (Munich: Prestel, in association with the Saint Louis Art Museum, 1983).

28. MB (note 23), p. 320.

Acknowledgments

LYNETTE ROTH

My primary task as the Andrew W. Mellon Post-Doctoral Fellow in Modern Art at the Saint Louis Art Museum between 2008 and 2010 was to research and write an in-depth publication about the museum's collection of thirty-nine paintings by Max Beckmann. While many of the paintings are well known and many—such as his mysterious *Carnival Mask* or death-defying *Acrobat on the Trapeze*—have graced the covers of monographs and exhibition catalogues, never had the collection been examined in its entirety and in the context of the artist's nearly fifty-year career. Thus the book's approach is historiographical; six chronological chapters provide not only an informative framework for the Saint Louis Art Museum's holdings, but illuminate the works' role in the development of Beckmann's oeuvre and its reception.

I am grateful to Saint Louis Art Museum director Brent R. Benjamin for his support of this undertaking, apparent prior to my appointment by the display of Beckmann's *Portrait of Curt Glaser* (cat. 12) outside his office. Charlotte Eyerman oversaw my initial work on the project with wisdom and enthusiasm. Her successors, Andrew Walker and Simon Kelly, supervised it with dedication. I am grateful to them, as well as to many former colleagues at the museum: Eric Lutz and Ann-Maree Walker for our regular Tuesday Beckmann "print club"; David Conradsen, Sid Goldstein, Philip Hu, Monika Jankowiak, Judy Mann, Sydney Norton, Tricia Paik, Zoe Perkins, Matthew Robb, and Elizabeth Wyckoff for sharing their expertise and for their support; Kurt Christian and his installation team for patiently providing access to the collections, as well as excellent insights into art they know so well. Emmeline Erikson's and Janeen Turk's previous work on provenance and condition reports provided a solid basis for further research. For their contributions to the project, I am indebted to museum research assistants Amy Clark, Genny Cortinovis, Molly Moog, and Francesca Wilmott; interns Lauren Downing, Rebecca Levy, Caroline Manganaro, Pia Pocivalnik, Stephanie Ruse, and Katherine Sedovic; and outside researchers Danielle Johnson and Kris Lipkowski. Special thanks go to research assistant Nathan Stobaugh, whose close attention to detail greatly benefited the individual entries and the bibliography. My research and the extensive travel it required would not have been possible without the expert administrative assistance of Rhonda Lally, Gay Lynn Montgomery, and Jeanne Rosen. My appreciation goes to the extremely knowledgable archivist Norma Sindelar and the museum's expert staff of librarians: Marianne Cavanaugh, John Lyon, Clare Vasquez, and Bryan Young. I am deeply grateful to the museum's chief conservator, Paul Haner, a lover of Beckmann's work whose dedication to technical research and deep knowledge enhanced the project immeasurably.

Such a large undertaking is, of course, the product of many years of research beyond the museum's walls. Beginning with Germany, I would first like to thank the artist's daughter-in-law Maja Beckmann and granddaughter, Mayen Beckmann, for their unwavering support of this project, for the access they gave to archival materials, and for imparting their intimate knowledge of his work. In Munich Christian Lenz, Helena Pereña, Eva Reich, and Christiane Zeiller at the Max Beckmann Archive, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, deserve special mention, as does Barbara Göpel.

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Fig. 1. St. Louis previews “Max Beckmann: A Retrospective Exhibition,” City Art Museum, St. Louis, 1948. Saint Louis Art Museum Archives.

Introduction

I hope to establish a Beckmann room at the St. Louis Museum which some day will attract people from all over the world such as the Prado for El Greco and in Venice for Tintoretto.

MORTON D. MAY, 1955[1]

With thirty-nine paintings by the artist, the Max Beckmann collection at the Saint Louis Art Museum is the largest in the world. The museum purchased one work early in 1946, but its holdings stem primarily from the 1983 bequest of local department-store magnate Morton D. May, who supported and befriended Beckmann during the artist's final years. Other benefactors include Louise and Joseph Pulitzer Jr.; the American artist George Rickey and his wife, Edith; and Beckmann's émigré dealer Curt Valentin. The museum also owns nearly four hundred works on paper by the artist.[2] As May imagined in 1955, the collection today draws researchers and visitors "from all over the world."

The paintings in the Saint Louis Art Museum span Beckmann's entire career, offering an overview of his life and artistic development. Born in Leipzig in 1884, the artist was at the center of the Berlin art scene prior to World War I. After the war, he lived in Frankfurt and eventually accepted a teaching position there. By the late 1920s, Beckmann had achieved considerable success in Germany and was actively seeking recognition for his art in Paris. Like many of his contemporaries, he lost his teaching post in 1933, when National Socialist cultural policy began to target those who made and supported modern art, and he returned to Berlin. His work was defamed, removed from municipal collections, and, beginning in 1937, prominently featured in the notorious traveling exhibition "Entartete Kunst" (Degenerate Art). That year Beckmann left Germany and spent the next decade living and working in exile in Amsterdam. In 1947 he accepted a teaching position in St. Louis at Washington University. He died of a heart attack in New York City only a few years later, in 1950. He was sixty-six years old.

In addition to a representative survey of Beckmann's oeuvre, the Saint Louis Art Museum collection provides insight into the reception of his work and of modern German art in the United States during and after World War II. American institutions, museum directors and curators, and collectors such as May were major catalysts in establishing Beckmann's reputation in this country. As evidenced in an array of exhibitions and publications, in the late 1930s and early 1940s American enthusiasm for Beckmann's art, like that of many of his expressionist contemporaries, increased in inverse relationship to its defamation by the National Socialists (see Chapter 6).[3] The sale abroad of work vilified by the Nazis; Beckmann's promotion by German-born dealers, headquartered above all in New York; and, finally, the emigration of the artist himself were major factors in this rise in interest as well. After the war, the American embrace of Beckmann's work also played an important role in Germany's re-engagement with his oeuvre. As Hans Belting said, "It was the Americans who rediscovered him."[4]

The City Art Museum

In May 1948, the City Art Museum, which in 1972 was renamed the Saint Louis Art Museum, held the first major exhibition of Beckmann's artwork in the United States. More than eight hundred visitors crowded into the first-floor galleries on opening night (see fig. 1).[5] The artist and his second wife, Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann (hereafter, Quappi Beckmann), who had recently moved to the city, were also present. Organized by the museum's director, Perry Rathbone, the selection of paintings, works on paper, and illustrated books was on view in five galleries normally dedicated to American art (see figs. 2–3). The retrospective was the largest solo exhibition at the museum since one devoted to work by Pablo Picasso was mounted a few years earlier. Rathbone later described the opening as literally "stunning" the audience. "There was almost none of the light-hearted chatter, none of the exchange of off-hand easy comment that usually introduces such an affair. Instead there was almost a hush . . . the pictures were doing the talking."[6]

Figs. 2–3. Installation views, "Max Beckmann: A Retrospective Exhibition," City Art Museum, St. Louis, 1948. Saint Louis Art Museum Archives.

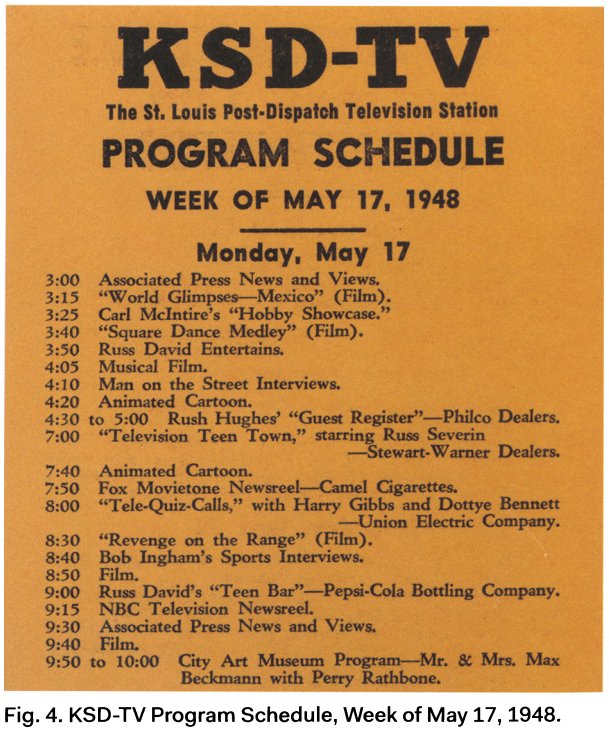
Ever since St. Louis hosted the 1904 World's Fair, which included the first twentieth-century exhibition in the United States of art from Germany, the city, with its significant German population, had been a center for the promotion of the visual art of that nation.[7] Even prior to the 1948 retrospective, Beckmann's art had been featured in numerous exhibitions in St. Louis.[8] In 1930, for example, the City Art Museum showcased a group of works from the annual international exhibition organized by the Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh, including Beckmann's prize-winning *The Loge* (1928; Göpel 287, Staatsgalerie Stuttgart).[9] In 1939 he was represented in a traveling exhibition highlighting the work of artists defamed by the Nazi regime.[10] Rathbone, who had directed the City Art Museum since 1940, had a long-standing interest in German art. He visited Beckmann in his Amsterdam studio (see cat. 21) in 1947 to begin laying the groundwork for the retrospective exhibition before the artist ever set foot in the United States.[11]

Despite the activities of the City Art Museum—including annual exhibitions of local artists, students, and faculty—and the strength of the fine-arts program at Washington University, St. Louisans in the 1940s were, in general, highly skeptical of modern art.[12] Shortly after Beckmann's arrival, he was asked to jury the annual Missouri exhibition, a display that, as in years past, caused considerable discussion in the community for its modernist tendencies.[13] The Pulitzer Publishing Company launched the first television broadcast in the city in February 1947, and from the outset, its station, KSD-TV—one

Fig. 5. Marsden Hartley (American; 1877–1943). *Driftwood on the Bagaduce*, 1939–40. Oil on canvas; 76.6 x 102 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Morton D. May, 387:1955.

of only seven in the country at that time—brought broadcasting technology to bear on the visual arts by promoting them to a growing audience. In a weekly program, the City Art Museum held interviews, showed and discussed artworks, and invited artists (including Beckmann's close St. Louis colleague Fred Conway; see cat. 34) to demonstrate techniques live in the studio.[14] Even though the station's broadcasting radius was only sixty-five miles, Rathbone wrote enthusiastically about the initiative's effectiveness.[15] A program broadcast from the museum's galleries about the exhibition "40 Masterpieces from the Collection of the City Art Museum," which included Beckmann's *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21), was the first of its kind. "The Director and a member of the staff discussed the exhibition informally, moving from picture to picture, actually giving the audience the impression of a personal visit to the gallery."[16]

One year after KSD-TV was launched, Rathbone appeared with Beckmann and his wife on the station to discuss the artist's work and promote the 1948 retrospective (see fig. 4).[17] The exhibition signaled St. Louis as a forerunner in the recognition and promotion of Beckmann's art in America. After a successful run in St. Louis, the exhibition was shown at seven venues across the country: Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Cambridge, Minneapolis, and Boulder. As the exhibition traveled widely, so did the artist. In just three years, Beckmann was a guest lecturer and instructor at numerous institutions nationwide, from Mills College in California to the Boston Museum School. The artist's writings of these years—his three-part lecture "Letters to a Woman Painter," in particular—were not only important pedagogical resources but became central to interpretations of his art.[18] The campaign to create an American public for modern art through exhibitions, new technologies, and educational initiatives all enhanced Beckmann's growing reputation.



KSD-TV

The St. Louis Post-Dispatch Television Station

PROGRAM SCHEDULE

WEEK OF MAY 17, 1948

Monday, May 17

3:00 Associated Press News and Views.
3:15 "World Glimpses—Mexico" (Film).
3:25 Carl McIntire's "Hobby Showcase."
3:40 "Square Dance Medley" (Film).
3:50 Russ David Entertains.
4:05 Musical Film.
4:10 Man on the Street Interviews.
4:20 Animated Cartoon.
4:30 to 5:00 Rush Hughes' "Guest Register"—Philco Dealers.
7:00 "Television Teen Town," starring Russ Severin —Stewart-Warner Dealers.
7:40 Animated Cartoon.
7:50 Fox Movietone Newsreel—Camel Cigarettes.
8:00 "Tele-Quiz-Calls," with Harry Gibbs and Dottye Bennett —Union Electric Company.
8:30 "Revenge on the Range" (Film).
8:40 Bob Ingham's Sports Interviews.
8:50 Film.
9:00 Russ David's "Teen Bar"—Pepsi-Cola Bottling Company.
9:15 NBC Television Newsreel.
9:30 Associated Press News and Views.
9:40 Film.
9:50 to 10:00 City Art Museum Program—Mr. & Mrs. Max Beckmann with Perry Rathbone.

Fig. 4. KSD-TV Program Schedule, Week of May 17, 1948. Detail. KSD-TV Channel 5 Archives, St. Louis.

Fig. 6. Max Beckmann. *The Actresses*, 1946. Oil on canvas; 160 x 120 cm. Göpel 728. Kunsthaus Zurich.

"Buster plus Beckmann: Magnificence!"[19]

When Beckmann arrived in St. Louis, collections of modern art in the city were still a relatively recent phenomenon.[20] Awareness of modern German art had grown steadily since the late 1930s, but the majority of American museums and collectors still privileged French art. Not long after the Beckmanns settled in St. Louis, the artist wrote to Minna Beckmann-Tube, his first wife, about the city being a stronghold for the "French moderns" Georges Braque, Picasso, and Georges Rouault.[21] While Beckmann was dismayed that buyers paid significantly less for his art than that of his Gallic contemporaries, the lower prices of his works contributed to their salability.[22] Despite the incredible lengths to which May went during his lifetime to promote modern German art, he nonetheless claimed, "I don't necessarily like the Germans better than the best of the French . . . but I was able to collect the Germans because I was the only one interested in them for years."[23]

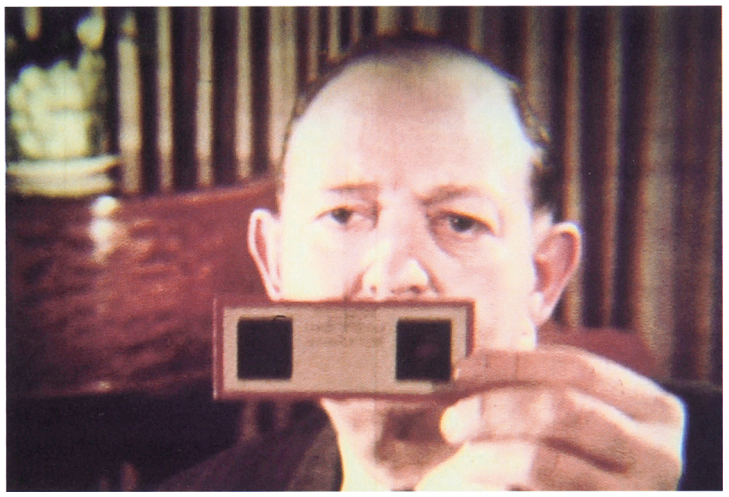
Founded in 1877 by David A. May, a German-Jewish immigrant, the May Department Stores Company—along with its local flagship store, Famous-Barr—was a St. Louis institution by the 1940s.[24] Born in 1914, the founder's grandson Morton D. May, known as "Buster," quickly rose through the ranks of the business to become general manager of the Famous-Barr operation in St. Louis in 1950 and, just one year later, president of the May Company. May's interest in art collecting began in 1941, when he built his first home and "began to acquire a few little things to fill it."[25] The International Style residence, since destroyed, was designed by Chicago architect Samuel A. Marx. Marx, who was married to May's aunt Florene, was also

Fig. 7. Pablo Picasso (Spanish; 1881–1973). *Pitcher and Fruit Bowl*, 1931. Oil on canvas; 130.2 x 194.9 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Morton D. May, 932:1983.

Fig. 8. "Man of the Year: Morton D. May," [*St. Louis*] *Globe-Democrat Sunday Magazine*, December 27, 1959. St. Louis Mercantile Library, University of Missouri-St. Louis.

a collector and inspired the young man to buy pre-Columbian art for the new residence.[26] It was only after serving in the navy during World War II that May felt he "really started to build a collection."[27] Among the artists represented in May's collection were St. Louisan Joe Jones, American modernists Stuart Davis, Marsden Hartley (see fig. 5), and Karl Knaths, as well as the Mexican painter Rufino Tamayo, whose work was popular among St. Louis collectors of the period.[28] Even though the walls of May's house were soon filled, he continued to collect. The painter Maurice Freedman—who had seen a major Beckmann retrospective in Paris in 1931 (see Chapter 3)—was the first to suggest to May that he consider the art of the German painter for his collection.[29] "Beckmann was virtually unknown in this country," May later recalled, "so we had a hard time finding his work."[30] A New York gallery that did feature modern German art was J. B. Neumann's New Art Circle. One of Beckmann's dealers in Germany, since 1923 Neumann had avidly promoted the artist in the United States.[31] In 1948 May saw a Beckmann canvas, along with eight others by expressionist painters, at Neumann's gallery, but he bought nothing.[32] Rather, that year he made his first purchase of work by the artist, *The Actresses* (fig. 6), from Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery, also in New York.[33] Valentin, like Neumann, was Jewish; he left Berlin for New York in 1937, five years after Neumann had settled there permanently. Both dealers played a key role in establishing an American market for Beckmann's art. Of course, at this time May's reputation as a collector of German art was not yet established. Upon hearing that the retailer had purchased *The Actresses*, Beckmann referred to him in his diary as "Picassomay," referencing the collector's acquisition, a few months earlier, of the Spanish artist's *Pitcher and Fruit Bowl* (fig. 7).[34]

In 1949, in order to meet Beckmann in person, May arranged for him to do his portrait (cat. 32). The retailer also began to paint around this time.[35] "With Beckmann's encouragement I began painting myself, and after the portrait was finished he became so interested in my work that he volunteered to come to my studio once a week to criticize my paintings."[36] An accomplished photographer, May referred to himself as an "avid Sunday painter," admitting that he had "little technical



Figs. 9, 10, 11. Top to bottom: Morton D. May; May in his studio, Clayton, Missouri; and May in his office at the May Department Stores Company, St. Louis. Stills from the film by Charles Guggenheim (American; 1924–2002), *German Expressionism in the New World*, 1964. Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin.

skill."[37] The sessions, or "corrections," as Beckmann called them, continued even after the artist left St. Louis for New York later that year (see fig. 35/1). May, who often went to New York on business, would take several canvases on the plane for the artist to critique, often also buying new paintings by Beckmann during these visits.

After Beckmann's death, May continued to make acquisitions, developing a reputation as the foremost American private collector of modern German art, with an emphasis on Beckmann and Brücke expressionists. By 1955 May owned nineteen Beckmann paintings, and, by the following year, twenty-six.[38] A year and a half later, his Beckmann collection totaled thirty-eight, with canvases ranging in date from 1908 to 1950, the last year of the artist's life.[39] As May's collection grew, he stored a large portion of it on the walls of a carriage house on his new suburban Clayton property, which also functioned as his painting studio.[40] When in 1959 May was named the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*'s "Man of the Year" for "services in [*sic*] behalf of the civic, cultural, recreational, and economic betterment" of St. Louis, the newspaper published a photograph of him at his easel surrounded by some of the most significant German paintings of the twentieth century (fig. 8).[41]

German Expressionism in the "New World"

In 1964 a leading documentary filmmaker, Charles Guggenheim, made *German Expressionism in the New World*. The film traces the reception of Beckmann in the United States, beginning with the failure of his first solo exhibition (in 1927 at Neumann's New York gallery) to garner attention for the artist. While Beckmann's reputation in the United States had grown steadily beginning in the late 1930s, the film cites the 1948 St. Louis retrospective as having essentially turned the tide for the painter and, with him, his contemporaries.[42] Guggenheim's studio produced at least two scripts for the feature. An initial draft reveals that the film was to focus as well on other key American supporters, such as Rathbone and Alfred H. Barr Jr., director of the Museum of Modern Art, New York, from its founding in 1929 to 1943. Barr's groundbreaking 1931 exhibition "German Painting and Sculpture at the Museum of Modern Art" featured eight paintings by Beckmann. Edited down by slightly more than half by its sponsor, the Federal Republic of Germany, the film's final version instead presents May as the personification of American enthusiasm for Beckmann in particular and for modern German art in general.[43] May is seen examining slides as a collector/connoisseur (fig. 9), at his easel as an artist/pupil (fig. 10), and in his office as a businessman/patron (fig. 11).

May did not read German and thus acquired knowledge of German artists and movements from conversations with

curators and dealers (Valentin, above all), and from the limited English-language scholarship of the period, such as Barr's 1931 exhibition catalogue or, later, Peter Selz's seminal *German Expressionist Painting* (1957).[44] It is thus not surprising that May's collection largely mirrored Barr's emphasis on Brücke expressionists such as Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff.[45] May also described German art as content driven, and, as a result, frequently off-putting for the uninitiated American audience—a view similar to Barr's. "Most Germans are romantic," Barr wrote in 1931. "They seem to be less interested in form and style as ends in themselves and more in feeling, in emotional values, and even moral, religious, social and philosophical considerations."[46] Twenty years later, May described Germans as invested in "emotional content, [they] lack the refined taste of the French school, and therefore, their paintings are much less palatable."[47] May and a number of his American contemporaries—and many commentators to this day—not only defined expressionism as driven by human behavior, but also understood it broadly, considering it largely synonymous with avant-garde art in Germany. For this reason, a number of artists have been identified with expressionism, despite the fact that they may only have worked briefly in an expressionist manner and/or even voiced opposition to it, as in the case of Beckmann, who dismissed it as mere decoration (see Chapter 1). The term "expressionist" was applied to Beckmann by some of his closest interpreters and supporters, including May, despite their knowledge of the artist's objections. Telling in this light is the following observation by Beckmann's St. Louis student Walter Barker: "Beckmann, it must be remembered, was always distressed to be called an Expressionist, although, as Perry Rathbone points out, he is related to German Expressionism through his emotionalism, subjectivity, and intuition."[48] May consistently described Beckmann as occupying a singular position by being "the most important painter of the whole group."[49] Nonetheless, the collector perpetuated the perception of the artist as working under the rubric in the many exhibitions he organized that promoted "German expressionism."

In the years following Beckmann's death, May regarded himself as leading a "one-man crusade to see that German expressionism was given its rightful position in modern art."[50] As early as 1951, he felt that his collection of thirty-nine paintings by German artists, including Beckmann, "had enough quality and cohesion" to be shown publicly at a distinguished venue for modern art, the Arts Club of Chicago, and he wrote a text on German expressionism for the occasion.[51] May was also not afraid to demonstrate his expertise to museum specialists.[52] In 1957 curator Andrew Carnduff Ritchie organized the major survey "German Art of the Twentieth Century," which was shown at the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and the St. Louis City Art Museum and supported financially by the Federal Republic of Germany.[53] When the show was still in its conceptual stage, May suggested to Ritchie that the Museum of Modern Art undertake instead an ambitious series of exhibitions to do justice to the topic. "Beckmann," he argued, "warrants a separate show."[54] While the museum did not follow his advice, Beckmann's *Harbor at Genoa* (cat. 11), which May owned, graced the exhibition catalogue's cover. May could not deny that the event "did much to re-establish German painting in this country," but he judged it "weak" and "not comprehensive."[55] Still, as a private collector attempting to bring modern German art into the canon, May recognized the Museum of Modern Art's institutional power. "German painting," he wrote, "was now respectable because the Museum of Modern Art considered it important enough to have a show."[56] In response to increasing demand for loans in the wake of the exhibition, May sent his collection on a tour throughout the United States in the early 1960s.[57] "My collection . . . went to eleven major museums in this country," he later stated. "The first few times it was shown the critics spoke highly of the collection, but said it was a way out collection, very unusual. By the time it finished in '62 there was such a change in American taste as a whole that the last critics said it was a very conventional collection."[58] This suggests that Beckmann's work was finding wider acceptance, and that painting, particularly in a figurative style, was increasingly felt to belong to the past, as pop and conceptual art, as well as radical political expression, shifted American taste.

Guggenheim's 1964 film was prompted by the event May had been waiting for—a solo exhibition of Beckmann's art at the Museum of Modern Art. May cut short the tour of his own collection (canceling showings in New York and Boston) and lent to the Museum of Modern Art's exhibition instead. The film opens outside the museum. Once through its revolving doors, viewers find themselves in the midst of bustling preparations: workers paint gallery walls, *The Bath* (cat. 14) rolls past the camera, and *Acrobat on the Trapeze* (cat. 20) hangs in the background. The film concludes with the following statement about Beckmann: "Critics hailed him as one of the most significant artists of the twentieth century. Through him, Americans now discovered the importance of modern German art."[59] Peter Selz later claimed that, as a result of the Museum of Modern Art retrospective, which he curated, "renewed attention [was] given to Beckmann's art in this country."[60]

German Expressionism in the "Old World"

After World War II, in the Federal Republic of Germany, as in the United States, modern art was frequently equated with values such as freedom, democracy, and individualism. In response to the attack on modern art by the National Socialists,

Fig. 12. Opening of the Kunsthalle Bielefeld, September 27, 1968. Left to right: museum director Joachim Wolfgang von Moltke; Morton D. May and his wife, Margie May; Maja Oetker (back to camera), wife of Kunsthalle donor Rudolf August Oetker; architect Philip Johnson; unknown person. Stadtarchiv Bielefeld.

who had removed avant-garde work from municipal collections, there was an interest during this period in reintroducing the German public to its own modernist tradition. In 1955 Werner Haftmann (a primary driver behind Ritchie's 1957 Museum of Modern Art exhibition and catalogue) authored the introduction of the catalogue for "documenta: Art of the Twentieth Century," an exhibition staged in the ruins of the eighteenth-century Museum Fridericianum, Kassel, and intended both to rehabilitate modern art and historicize German post–World War II art production.[61] A photograph of Beckmann was one of many such artist portraits to grace the entrance to the show, and an entire gallery was dedicated to his paintings. Nonetheless, despite a number of memorial exhibitions following Beckmann's death in 1950 and the highlighting of his art at "documenta," appreciation of the artist's work remained limited in his native land.[62]

The Morton D. May collection became key in the ongoing rehabilitation of modern German art in West Germany. First, the 1964 Museum of Modern Art exhibition traveled to Hamburg and Frankfurt, as well as London; and Guggenheim's film, financed as it was by the West German government, was given a German-language commentary. In 1966 May was contacted by the cultural attaché of the German embassy in Washington, D.C., regarding the possibility of showing his collection abroad. Two years later, the collector sent seventy-six works, including thirty-one paintings by Beckmann, on an extensive tour of Germany and Austria.[63] "Flown in four American jets over the Atlantic," wrote one German reviewer, "the ensemble of pictures found its way to the Old World."[64] The first venue was the brand new Kunsthalle Bielefeld, designed by the American architect Philip Johnson. The enthusiastic reception of May's collection in Bielefeld occurred at the same time that intense discussions were taking place concerning the naming of the Kunsthalle in memory of Richard Kaselowsky, a local businessman whose close ties to the Nazi party had recently come to light.[65] Despite local protests, May attended the opening (see fig. 12), and German critics portrayed him as the personification of the strong American interest in German art. Several noted that a number of May's paintings had been removed during the Nazi period from German municipal collections. "Through May," one observed, "the creativity in the pictures finds a rehabilitation, and recognition, which would be granted openly after 1933 to the artists and their works only in some (other) country."[66] German newspapers referred to the "return" of these works to Germany as providing new audiences with an opportunity to understand and appreciate modern art. In the words of the 1964 film, "Despised and persecuted during their lives, the German expressionists have now taken their rightful place among the truly great contributors of twentieth-century art."[67]

"The world's finest collection of Beckmann"

A philanthropist from a family with a strong sense of civic responsibility, May described himself to Beckmann's son, Peter, in 1956, as "anxious to develop the world's finest collection of Beckmann which will eventually be given to our museum."[68] The Saint Louis Art Museum's holdings reveal much about how the merchandiser went about building and "improving" the overall strength and diversity of his representation of the artist. To best reflect the artist's entire career, May kept his collection in constant flux. When he "needed" or "no longer needed" works from various periods, he would dispose of something to buy a desired example.[69] May's quests for a triptych and a self-portrait were long—the latter ending only in 1959 when Quappi Beckmann agreed to sell him the artist's final self-portrait, *Self-Portrait 1950* (cat. 39). At its height, May's collection of canvases by the artist totaled fifty-eight, many of which he had purchased in large numbers from Valentin at reduced prices.[70] May was also not opposed to swapping one Beckmann for another by him (see cat. 37), for the work of other painters (e.g., one Beckmann for three works by George Grosz), or for Pre-Columbian gold.[71] The comprehensive nature of the collection—and the representative look at Beckmann's oeuvre it provides—reflects May's vision for a Beckmann room at the St. Louis museum.

In the mid-1950s, May presented the City Art Museum with forty-three drawings, watercolors, pastels, and gouaches by German artists, including all of the works on paper he owned by Beckmann except for sketches for his own portrait

Fig. 13. "The May Bequest," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch Sunday Magazine*, October 30, 1983, reproducing Max Beckmann's portrait of Morton D. May (cat. 32). Saint Louis Art Museum Archives.

and a sketch for the large canvas *The Town* (fig. 37/1).[72] In 1974 May donated a number of Beckmann canvases that the museum was able to sell at auction in order to raise funds for a new administrative wing.[73] Expressionist paintings—Wassily Kandinsky's *Winter Landscape* (now also at the Saint Louis Art Museum) was a personal favorite—and examples by Beckmann, such as *The Harbor at Genoa* (cat. 11), continued to fill the walls of the May family home.[74] Upon his death in 1983, at age sixty-nine, the collector left 1,706 works of art to the museum (see fig. 13).[75] With thirty-five paintings by Beckmann and sixty-eight canvases by other Europeans, most of whom lived and worked in Germany in the first half of the twentieth century, May's bequest dramatically changed the institution's holdings, establishing the Saint Louis Art Museum as one of the world's foremost centers for modern German art.[76]

NOTES

1. MDM to MQB, Dec. 15, 1955, May Archives, SLAM.
2. In 2002 the museum acquired a notable group of 351 prints and book illustrations by Beckmann, including rare proof and alternate-state impressions. The Neumann-Frumkin collection, as it is called, came from New York art dealer Allan Frumkin, who had purchased the works from Beckmann's dealer J. B. Neumann in the 1950s.
3. For accounts of how German vilification of modern artists directly affected the positive reception of German art in the U.S., see Kort 2002, esp. pp. 273–79; Langfeld 2011, esp. pp. 104–50.
4. Belting 1989, p. 11.
5. "Beckmann Painting Exhibition Opens," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, May 11, 1948, SLAM Archives. See also Kienle 2008, p. 53.
6. Perry Rathbone, "Introductory Remarks," MS, [1949]. Perry Rathbone Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C. Rathbone prepared these remarks for a lecture at the Minneapolis venue of the exhibition and used them again when it was in Boulder.
7. Paret 1980, pp. 112–55; Paul Michael Lützeler, "The St. Louis World's Fair of 1904 as a Site of Cultural Transfer," in *German Culture in Nineteenth Century America*, eds. Lynne Tatlock and Matt Erlin (Rochester, N.Y.: Camden House, 2005), pp. 59–86; Langfeld 2011, pp. 30–31.
8. The following exhibitions at the City Art Museum included work by Beckmann: "Contemporary German Graphic Art," opened Apr. 9, 1913; "Foreign Section of the Twenty-eighth International Exhibition of Paintings from Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh," Mar. 11–Apr. 27, 1930; "Foreign Section of the Thirteenth International Exhibition of Paintings from Carnegie Institute," Mar. 7–Apr. 18, 1932; "Seventeenth International Watercolor Exhibition," July 21–Aug. 21, 1938; "Paintings by Max Beckmann, Lent by the Buchholz Gallery," June 1938; "Exhibition of Twentieth Century (Banned) German Art," Sept. 1939; "Nineteenth International Watercolor Exhibition, Jan. 9–Feb. 9, 1941; "Loan Exhibition of Twentieth Century European Art," Aug. 1–Sept. 30, 1941; "Twentieth Century Portraits," Oct. 2–25, 1943; "40 Masterpieces from the Collection of the City Art Museum," Oct. 6–Nov. 10, 1947; "Painting and Sculpture by Group 15," Dec. 1–31, 1947; "Symbolism in Painting," Dec. 31, 1947–Jan. 21, 1948.
9. At the 1929 Carnegie exhibition, Beckmann's *The Loge* received fourth honorable mention. Göpel 1976, vol. 2, p. 92.
10. See note 8. The show was a reduced version of the 1938 London "Exhibition of Twentieth Century German Art" (see Chap. 4). Berlin 1988, p. 315; Langfeld 2011, pp. 139–42.
11. Rathbone took a three-year leave of absence during the war, but remained director of the City Art Museum until 1955. For more on his pathbreaking interest in modern German art, see intro. to Chap. 5.
12. MDM, interview with Walter Barker, July 5, 1970, transcript, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine. May considered St. Louis then, as well as in 1970, "conservative."
13. For photographs of Beckmann and the two other jury members (former acting director of the museum, Charles Nagel Jr., and sculptor Robert Laurent) during the selection process, see "Judges of Art," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Dec. 7, 1947. The first prize in oil painting went to one of Beckmann's students at Washington University, Walter Barker.
14. Conway also explained his painting practice in a photo essay: George McCue, "Modern Art. A Step-by-Step Explanation by One of Its Practitioners," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Feb. 1, 1948.
15. Perry Rathbone, "Broadcasting and the Visual Arts," *Burlington Magazine* 90, 538 (Jan. 1948), p. 28.
16. Ibid. See also "Forty Masterpieces from the Collection of the City Art Museum of Saint Louis," *Bulletin of the City Art Museum* 32, 2–3 (Oct. 1947).
17. Few programs were recorded at the time; nothing was found of the Beckmann interview. I would like to thank Bob Garger, archivist at KSD-TV Channel 5, St. Louis, for his assistance.
18. See Roth 2011–12. Rathbone tried to convince Curt Valentin to make Beckmann's "Woman Painter" lecture into a record. Rathbone to CV, Mar. 19, 1948, Valentin III.E.[21], Curt Valentin Papers, Archives, MoMA.
19. Vincent Price, "Buster plus Beckmann: Magnificence!," *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1966, sec. 5, p. 2.
20. Perry Rathbone, "Midwest Internationals," *Art News* 47, 6 (Oct. 1948), p. 56.
21. MB to MBT, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Oct. 18, 1948, no. 884, p. 226.
22. Beckmann contrasted the one thousand dollars May paid for his work with what he spent on Picassos and Braques: three or four times more. Ibid., p. 227.
23. MDM, interview with Mary King, 1970, transcript, May Archives, SLAM.
24. For more on David May, as well as the May family history and legacy of civic and philanthropic responsibility and activity in St. Louis's Reform Jewish community, see Jeanne Abrams, "David May," in *Immigrant Entrepreneurship: German–American Business Biographies, 1720 to the Present*, vol. 3, ed. by Giles R. Hoyt (German Historical Institute). http://www.www.immigrantentrepreneurship.org/entry.php?rec=99. Accessed June 19, 2012.
25. MDM, "Biography of Morton D. May," n.d., transcript, Morton D. May Albums, presented to the museum by Lucia P. May; SLAM Archives. "began to acquire": MDM, cited in Grace Glueck, "Morton D. May Shows His German Art," *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1970.
26. "My first interest in Pre-Columbian art came in the late 1930s, when I saw two Nayarit figures in Chicago at the apartment of the well-known collectors Mr. and Mrs. Samuel Marx. . . . I wanted to start collecting Pre-Columbian sculpture for my new modern house, which Mr. Marx was designing." MDM, cited in Lee A. Parsons, *Pre-Columbian Art: The Morton D. May and the St. Louis Art Museum Collections* (New York: Harper & Row, 1980), p. ix. The house, located at 2222 [South] Warson Road in Ladue, a suburb of St. Louis, was built in 1941–42 and demolished in 2005. Samuel and Florene Marx also collected modern French masters beginning in the 1930s. See Grace Glueck, "A Surprise, and Then a Collection," *New York Times*, Feb. 28, 1997. Perhaps inspired by May's understanding of the dynamic relationship between art, architecture, and design, in the late 1940s, the May Department Stores, under his management, integrated artwork into their sales and design concepts. For example, in 1947 a painting by Fred Conway (see cat. 34) served as the inspiration for a model room of a man's den and a living room. Artist file, Fred Conway, SLAM. See also examples from 1953 in Rathbone Papers (note 6). No evidence has been found that May ever employed Beckmann's art this way.

27. MDM, interview (note 12).
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid. See also Elaine Viets, "Meet Morton D. May," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, July 2, 1978. Maurice Freedman married Louise Arnstein, the sister of May's first wife, in 1939.
30. MDM, lecture, Weatherspoon Guild, Greensboro, N.C., Apr. 7, 1975, transcript, Morton D. May Albums (note 25).
31. For more on the relationship between Neumann and Beckmann, see Kienle 2008, esp. pp. 11–28; Harter/Wiese 2011. Although his name was Israel Ber (I. B.) Neumann, he changed it to J. B. Neumann in the U.S., and the latter spelling is used here.
32. In 1951 May returned to Neumann's New York gallery to buy seven of the eight expressionist works he had not acquired three years earlier (by Erich Heckel, Ludwig Meidner, Emil Nolde, Max Pechstein, and Christian Rohlfs); one (by Meidner) had been sold in the interim. MDM, lecture (note 30). In his 1975 lecture, May noted the paintings' availability after several years on the market as evidence of the lack of an American market for German expressionism at the time. For his purchases, see invoice, New Art Circle Gallery (J. B. Neumann), Jan. 10, 1951, May Archives, SLAM.
33. MDM, lecture (note 30). See also invoice, Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), May 22, 1948, May Archives, SLAM.
34. MB, diary, May 20, 1948, Columbia University, New York. On the purchase, see Rathbone (note 20). May acquired the Picasso on Jan. 7, 1948. Invoice, Paul Rosenberg & Co., May Archives, SLAM.
35. MDM, autobiography (note 25). When exactly May took up painting is unclear. In 1968 he said he began two-to-three weeks after Beckmann started his portrait. MDM, interview with Barbara Göpel, Sept. 1968, transcript, Erhard Göpel† and Barbara Göpel, Munich. In a 1970 interview, May claimed to have been painting for about one month when he met Beckmann. MDM, interview (note 23). In another interview that same year, May mentioned that he had executed five or six "quite emotional" canvases by the time of Beckmann's first visit. MDM, interview (note 12).
36. MDM to Homer Saint-Gaudens, Oct. 17, 1949, Archives, Carnegie Museum, Pittsburgh. Later May said it was every other week. "I'd started painting the same year and even after he finished the portrait he came to lunch every two weeks and looked at my work in the studio." MDM, cited in Glueck (note 25). MB Estate, Berlin. See also MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, June 9, 1949, p. 320: "May rief an, lunchten mit ihm, bei ihm, hat tatsächlich etwas talent, neue Bilder gar nicht schlecht." (May called, had lunch with him at his house, does actually have some talent, new pictures not that bad.)
37. MDM, autobiography (note 25); MDM, cited in Viets (note 29).
38. MDM to SL, Sept. 22, 1955; MDM to MQB, Mar. 15, 1956, both in May Archives, SLAM.
39. MDM to Günther Franke, Oct. 29, 1957, May Archives, SLAM.
40. The carriage house was located at 11 Brentmoor Park, the address of May's father, Morton J. May, until the property was divided so that Morton D. could build a second home, also in the International Style, at 12 Brentmoor Park, in 1952.
41. David Brown, "The Man of the Year: Morton D. May," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat Sunday Magazine*, Dec. 27, 1959.
42. "Prod. #203 German Expressionist," Guggenheim Productions, Inc., Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.
43. For more on the 1931 exhibition, see Alfred H. Barr Jr., "Die Wirkung der deutschen Ausstellung in New York," *Museum der Gegenwart. Zeitschrift der deutschen Museen für neue Kunst* 2 (1931–32), pp. 58–75; Langfeld 2011, esp. pp. 76–102. The final film, *German Expressionism in the New World*, bears the subtitle "The Morton D. May Collection," which is absent from the scripts. Production is credited to Guggenheim Productions, St. Louis, and Aventin-Filmstudios, Munich. According to May, the original film was twenty-five minutes long, and Guggenheim had wished to do the commentary himself. MDM, lecture (note 30). The existing version of the film, after editing and the addition of commentary (with some factual errors) by the German government, runs only twelve minutes. German and English versions are housed at the Bundesarchiv-Filmarchiv, Berlin. A copy of the English version is on permanent loan to SLAM. May's role in promulgating German art in the U.S. was acknowledged when the German government, according to him, gave him an award in 1963/64. MDM, interview (note 23).
44. The lengthier of two existing scripts for the Guggenheim film describes May in his den looking at James Thrall Soby's *Contemporary Painters* (1948). Bernard Samuel Myers's *German Expressionists: A Generation in Revolt* (1957) and Selz's *German Expressionist Painting* (1957) are noted as on the table next to May. "Prod. #203 German Expressionist" (note 42), p. 8. In a lecture at the City Art Museum on July 7, 1970, May mentioned the importance to him of Rathbone, Freedman, Barker, Valentin, and William N. Eisendrath (former director of the Steinberg Gallery, St. Louis). MDM, cited in Austin 1974, p. 6.
45. May's collecting strategy followed Barr's catalogue with a few exceptions. For example, May purchased work by Lovis Corinth, whom Barr included in an "impressionist trio" (along with Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt). Barr, "Introduction," in New York 1931, pp. 8–9. For more on Barr's choices, see Langfeld 2011, pp. 76–80. In the late 1960s, German reviewers of May's collection, however, considered Corinth's art to be a precursor to the expressionist works May owned.
46. New York 1931, p. 7. The notion of Germans as "romantic," "intuitive," and preferring content over form (especially in comparison to their French counterparts) originated in German art discourse after World War I and took root in the U.S. following Barr's 1931 exhibition. See Langfeld 2011, esp. pp. 80–84. See also Kort 2002, pp. 280–93, which examines the stubborn American association of expressionism "with *human behavior* rather than aesthetics" (p. 260). For more on how Beckmann in particular fell outside of Barr's modernism, see Karen Lang, "Max Beckmann's Inconceivable Modernism," in Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. 81–82.
47. MDM (1951) as cited in Austin 1974, p. 6.
48. Walter Barker, "The May Collection. German Expressionism at Marlborough," *Arts Magazine* 44, 3 (Dec. 1969–Jan. 1970), p. 34.
49. MDM, interview (note 12).
50. MDM, lecture (note 25).
51. MDM, lecture (note 44), cited in Austin 1974, p. 5. In this 1970 lecture, and again in 1975 (note 30), May referred to his 1951 text, noting that it still had validity for him even after so many years.
52. For example, in 1952 May wrote to MoMA's head of Painting and Sculpture, Andrew Carnduff Ritchie, to correct information on Brücke artists in John Rewald's 1952 exhibition catalogue, *Fauves*, as well as to challenge Rewald's assertion that the stylistic development of the Germans followed that of the French. MDM, lecture (note 30).
53. Langfeld 2011, p. 212, n. 249; Kort 2002, pp. 280–81. See also William S. Lieberman, "Homage to the Art that Hitler Hated," *New York Times*, Sept. 29, 1957.
54. The ambitious series of exhibitions May proposed included an introductory presentation of the two primary groups associated with expressionism—Brücke and Blaue Reiter—followed by a display of the works of "important independent painters" such as Willi Baumeister, Käthe Kollwitz, and Paula Modersohn-Becker; and, finally, a show dedicated to Beckmann. MDM, lecture (note 30). May's suggestions again reveal his indebtedness to Barr's 1931 categorization of "typically German" art as comprising the two groups of expressionists and other select "individuals."
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid. Other collectors/curators such as Katherine Dreier and Hilla Rebay faced similar obstacles even before May's time. Langfeld 2011, pp. 38–57, 121–26, esp. p. 126.

57. The exhibition traveled to Denver, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Francisco, Chicago, Youngstown, Akron, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, and Kansas City, Mo.
58. MDM, interview (note 12). The exhibition closed on Jan. 6, 1963, which explains why May felt he could say it ended in 1962.
59. *German Expressionism in the New World* (note 43).
60. Selz, "Preface," in Belting 1989, p. 9. If the MoMA exhibition secured the artist's reputation as one of the most important artists of the first half of the twentieth century, discussions of his legacy reached an apogee in the U.S. in the 1980s with rising interest in neo-expressionism. See Kort 2002, pp. 287–89. In 1984 Hilton Kramer named Georg Baselitz, Eric Fischl, and Jörg Immendorff as Beckmann's "heirs apparent." Hilton Kramer, "Rediscovering the Art of Max Beckmann," *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 19, 1984, p. 32.
61. *documenta: Kunst des XX. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Prestel, 1955). The selection of work for the 1955 "documenta," like that for the MoMA exhibition two years later, was largely based on Werner Haftmann's 1954 publication *Malerei im 20 Jahrhundert*, which in 1960 was published in English, in slightly revised form, as *Painting in the Twentieth Century*.
62. As the Cold War heightened around 1948–49, in West Germany abstract art was contrasted with figurative styles thought to evoke the social realism promoted by the Nazi or communist regimes before and after 1945, including the German Democratic Republic (GDR). See Wallace 2012, esp. p. 7; Belting 1989, p. 15. For a thorough account of the reception of prewar expressionism in the Soviet occupation zone and the early GDR, see Maike Steinkamp, *Das unerwünschte Erbe: die Rezeption "entarteter" Kunst in Kunstkritik, Ausstellungen und Museen der Sowjetischen Besatzungszone und der frühen DDR* (Berlin: Akademie, 2008). The strongest advocate in the GDR for Beckmann's importance was Bernhard Heisig, a highly revered artist in East Germany. He wrote essays extolling Beckmann as a figurative beacon at a time when "canvases were being sprayed and dribbled on" ("als es auf den Leinwänden spritze und tröpfelte"). Heisig, cited in Carla Schulz-Hoffmann, "Zwischen Max Beckmann und Otto Dix. Bernhard Heisig und die Tradition der Moderne," in *Bernhard Heisig Retrospektive* (Munich: Prestel, 1989), p. 75. The artist's son, Peter Beckmann, is said to have considered Heisig to be his "father's true heir" ("den legitimen Nachfolger seines Vaters"). PB, cited in *Kunst in der DDR. Eine Retrospektive der Nationalgalerie*, eds. Eugen Blume and Roland März (Berlin: Verlag Berlin), 2003, p. 111.
63. After its debut in Bielefeld, the exhibition traveled, at May's request, in 1968–69 to four other German cities (Cologne, Essen, Bremen, Karlsruhe), and Vienna. May also lent fourteen paintings to a concurrent Beckmann exhibition displayed in Munich, Brussels, and Paris.
64. Hans Kinkel, "Schicksal der Bilder: Die Sammlung Morton D. May in Bielefeld," *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, Nov. 29, 1968.
65. Bernd J. Wagner, "27 September 1968: Das 'Richard-Kaselowsky-Haus—Kunsthalle der Stadt Bielefeld' wird eröffnet," http://www.bielefeld.de/de/biju/stadtar/rc/rar/01092008.html. Accessed Mar. 17, 2013.
66. Doris Schmidt, "German Art Collected in St. Louis," English translation of an article that appeared in *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, Jan. 28, 1969, p. 12. May Archives, SLAM.
67. *German Expressionism in the New World* (note 43).
68. MDM to PB, Jan. 5, 1956, May Archives, SLAM. On upgrading his collection, see for example MDM to SL (note 38).
69. May's insistence on a comprehensive approach to an artist's oeuvre was not limited to Beckmann. For example, he collected work by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner in a similar manner.
70. In 1970 May mentioned that fifty-five of his fifty-eight Beckmann paintings were on view. MDM, interview (note 12).
71. MDM to Robert M. Browne, Oct. 21, 1978, May Archives, SLAM. May traded Beckmann's *Swimming Bath at Cap Martin* (1944; Göpel 671) for seven pieces of Colombian gold from Browne and purchased two additional examples from the collector. May Archives, SLAM. According to Matthew Robb, although authenticated at the time, all nine Pre-Columbian pieces May acquired were subsequently dismissed as fakes. For more on May and his pre-Columbian collection, see Parsons (note 26).
72. The gift also included six works on paper by American artists. For the gift, see "49 Works Donated to City Art Museum," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Oct. 31, 1956, in which a number of the German artists' names are misspelled, demonstrating the general unfamiliarity with their work.
73. These included *Garden in Ohlstadt* (1933; Göpel 376), *Femina* (1936; Göpel 445), and *The Valkyrie* (1947; Göpel 764). Handwritten notations in May records, May Archives, SLAM. In 1975 May mentioned that the Marlborough exhibition (London et al. 1974–75) contained ten loans from him and "a number of paintings" that May once owned but that were "sold to Marlborough by the Saint Louis Art Museum. I had donated these paintings to the Saint Louis Art Museum with the understanding that they could be sold to raise money for their twenty million dollar building fund campaign." MDM to PB, Jan. 9, 1975. May Archives, SLAM.
74. MDM to Gilbert Lloyd, Marlborough Fine Arts, Ltd., New York, July 8, 1974. "Genoa has an important spot in our house and Mrs. May and I have consistently refused to lend it out of the house, except to the Saint Louis Art Museum when we are out of town." Family photographs from the 1970s show *Genoa* hanging above the sofa in the den. I thank John May for sharing these photographs and David Conradsen and Genny Cortinovis for bringing them to my attention.
75. Acquisitions and Loans Committee Meeting, Sept. 20, 1983, transcript, SLAM. The deaccessioning in 1986 of a portion of the May paintings bequest (to support the purchase of Kandinsky's *Winter Landscape*, formerly in May's collection) has obscured the diversity of the collection, which included a late work by Kurt Schwitters and post–World War II paintings by Ernst Wilhelm Nay and Fritz Winter.
76. A single Beckmann painting from May's 1983 bequest, *Still Life with Green Book and Radishes* (1949; Göpel 786), was deaccessioned in 2002 in order to help fund SLAM's purchase of the Neumann-Frumkin collection (see note 2). May also gave paintings to the Los Angeles County Museum of Art and the Toledo Museum of Art.

Note to the Reader

Abbreviations

AAA: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.
CV: Curt Valentin
MB: Max Beckmann
MBT: Minna Beckmann-Tube
MDM: Morton D. May
MoMA: The Museum of Modern Art, New York
MQB: Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann
PB: Peter Beckmann
SL: Stephan Lackner
SLAM: Saint Louis Art Museum

Titles

Titles reflect the English translation of the original German titles that Beckmann provided in his picture list. The picture list (see below) also includes original titles in English. Exceptions are explained in endnotes. See also Alternate Titles, below.

Dimensions

All dimensions, provided in centimeters (cm) as height and width, for SLAM's paintings are of the works unframed.

Documentation and Notes

Alternate Titles
Selected alternate published titles appear here. A title in parentheses following a title is published when in italics and a translation when in roman.

Selected Marks, Labels
Many paintings by Beckmann in SLAM's collection have been relined and restretched. Morton D. May and his conservator, James Roth, understood these methods as acceptable and commonly used means to strengthen the support (MDM to Barbara Göpel, Jan. 3, 1973, May Archives, SLAM), although, in the late 1950s, May did question Roth's practice of relining works less than ten years old (MDM to Roth, Feb. 11, 1959, May Archives, SLAM). As a result of these practices, much original information likely was lost. Existing marks and labels on the verso that duplicate information in the exhibition history—in particular regarding exhibitions (and the transportation of artworks) after a painting entered May's collection or the City Art Museum/SLAM—have not been noted here. References to the museum's accession numbers have also been excluded. A complete list of marks and labels for each work are in the museum's departmental files.

Technical History and Condition
Since the early 1980s, conservation and technical studies have played a major role in Beckmann scholarship. For this publication, all paintings in SLAM's collection were closely examined and X-rayed. Infrared examinations were done on a number of the later works.

Beckmann "emphatically rejected varnish or any other final lacquer" (Mathilde [Quappi] Beckmann, cited in Heimberg 1984, p. 135) on his work after World War I. Nonetheless, a number of SLAM canvases were varnished in the 1950s and 1960s. Although May, owner of many of the paintings when initial conservation was undertaken, was aware that Beckmann did not varnish his work (Barbara Göpel interview with MDM, Sept. 24, 1968; transcript, Erhard Göpel† and Barbara Göpel, Munich), such a procedure was widely seen as a protective measure (technical records and correspondence between May and his conservator repeatedly refer to varnish as a "protective layer").
The varnish on paintings executed after 1914 has been removed.

Artist's Picture List
Beckmann kept a comprehensive list of his canvases. Throughout his life, he updated notations of the works' current owners, a practice continued by Quappi Beckmann after his death. The transcriptions from the picture list included here follow the artist's own orthography, including misspellings of names and locations. Some punctuation has been added for clarity. Brackets indicate information added by the author. The initial information denotes a section of the picture list (e.g., "*St. Louis 1949:*"). The numbers preceding the painting (e.g., "58") are either Beckmann's own or were added later by Quappi Beckmann. A parenthesis has been added after each such number for clarity. The picture lists are found in Notebooks 1 and 2, both in the Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin. Notebook 3, which contains the picture list for Beckmann's New York period, is in the Rare Book and Manuscript Library, Columbia University, New York.

Diaries
Beckmann kept a daily diary most of his life. Surviving early diaries were published in MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983 and MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985. When the Germans invaded Holland, Beckmann destroyed his diaries from 1925 to 1940. The diaries from 1940 to 1950 survived and were published in heavily edited form by Erhard Göpel and Quappi Beckmann in MB, *Tagebücher* 1955. The original diaries after 1940 at Columbia University (see above) are now available to scholars. Citations from unpublished diaries have been included here only if they do not appear in one of the above-mentioned volumes.

Catalogues Raisonnés/Artist's Writings
Catalogues raisonnés and the artist's published writings have been given a short-form designation that corresponds to their citation at the beginning of the Bibliography (see below). The artist's published writings are incorporated into the Literature section (see below) of entries where applicable. Both the dates of Beckmann's writings and the page numbers on which references appear are included.

Literature/Exhibitions
Bibliographic references and exhibitions appear in a short-form designation that corresponds to the citation provided in the Bibliography. For exhibitions the short form comprises the city(ies) in which an exhibition took place, followed by the year(s) in which it occurred. For scholarly essays and monographs, the short form comprises the author's name or city of publication and the year of publication. These references are divided into "Literature" and "Exhibitions" sections in each entry.
References to exhibition catalogues in which a SLAM painting is mentioned, but was not included in the exhibition, are listed under Literature. When a painting was included in an exhibition but is not mentioned in the catalogue, the reference is found under Exhibitions with "(not in cat.)." When there was no catalogue for an exhibition, "(no cat.)" is noted.

Traveling exhibitions are designated by an "et al." that is assigned to the city of the institution that organized the exhibition and, unless otherwise noted, produced the catalogue. Additional venues are listed in the Bibliography. When more than one catalogue was published for different venues of the same exhibition, those catalogues appear in the entries in chronological order after the organizing institution. Otherwise, exhibition citations are listed chronologically by year and alphabetically within the same year. When institutions were joint organizers and/or published a catalogue together, the cities of both venues are listed with a slash between them.

Where possible, illustrations have been listed directly after the page numbers on which they appear. Otherwise, as in the case of non-paginated (n.pag.) publications, the abbreviation "ill." appears at the end of the citation. If an asterisk (*) appears after an exhibition catalogue, pagination could not be definitively determined because the primary source was not available to the researchers. If an asterisk appears after "no cat.," it was not possible to establish whether or not a catalogue was produced. Similarly, in the bibliography an asterisk following a catalogue number signals that there is an issue of uncertainty, which is explained in a footnote in that work's entry. Unpaginated pages that could be determined in relation to other pages in the publication are listed in brackets. Numbering in a catalogue or book (cat. in Exhibitions, no. in Literature), as well as figure (fig.), plate (pl.), and note (n.) numbers, is also listed when provided in a publication. A detail (det.) is also noted where appropriate. All illustrations are black and white unless noted as color.

Any exceptions to the guidelines above (made for organizational purposes in special cases) are noted in the Bibliography.

Bibliography
The Bibliography is selective, in that casual mentions of SLAM's works—whether in newspapers, periodicals, or books—are not included. Such citations, however, appear in endnotes when deemed important, for example, to establish that a work was in an exhibition or was ascribed to a dealer or owner.

The Bibliography is divided into four sections: Catalogues Raisonnés; Artist's Writings; Exhibitions/Exhibition Catalogues (see explanation, page 256); and Books, Exhibition Catalogues (see ibid.), Essays, Articles.

Books, exhibition catalogues, and other writing not yet published or published too late for proper assessment in the present publication are listed in endnotes.

CHAPTER 1

The Secession Years

Cats. 1–7

CHAPTER 1

The Secession Years

Although Max Beckmann is best known for his work after World War I—Klaus Gallwitz aptly titled an essay on the artist's prewar period "Beckmann before Beckmann"—he had a significant and successful career prior to 1914.[1] To many at the time, the young painter epitomized renewed hope for the Berlin Secession. Founded in 1898, the Secession challenged academic and imperial art authorities under the auspices of Kaiser Wilhelm II by offering an alternative to official salon culture and exhibiting the work of foreign artists.[2] The Secession helped turn the tide for modern German art and allowed Berlin to usurp Munich's standing as Germany's modern-art center. However, by 1906, when Beckmann began exhibiting with the Secession, the organization had largely lost its avant-garde edge. Instead, it was criticized for its own cultural hegemony and the overwhelming dominance of its longtime president, the painter Max Liebermann.

According to prominent Berlin art historian and critic Curt Glaser (see cat. 12), in his 1928 history of the Secession, the association realized the urgent need to "rejuvenate" its membership by actively recruiting artists of the next generation, such as the young Beckmann.[3] The artist often questioned his status in the organization and in 1908 briefly considered leaving with a group of other young painters. Secession leaders quickly quelled these artists' "revolutionary" sentiments, however, and in 1910 Beckmann was appointed to the Secession's executive board, becoming its youngest member.[4] A self-portrait from that year shows the artist in proper street clothes—a double-breasted coat, stiff-collared shirt, tie, and bowler hat—with brushes and palette in hand (fig. 14). Beckmann stares directly at the viewer. The painting is less an intimate depiction of its creator observing himself in the mirror as he works than an outright confrontation. Indeed, the artist often found himself in these years at the center of controversy, both praised and sharply criticized.

Dating from 1907 to 1913, the seven paintings featured in this chapter coincide with Beckmann's membership in the Secession. They reveal the range of his subjects and formats, from small, plein-air landscapes to big, ambitious works dealing with contemporary themes. Beckmann loved the sea, and

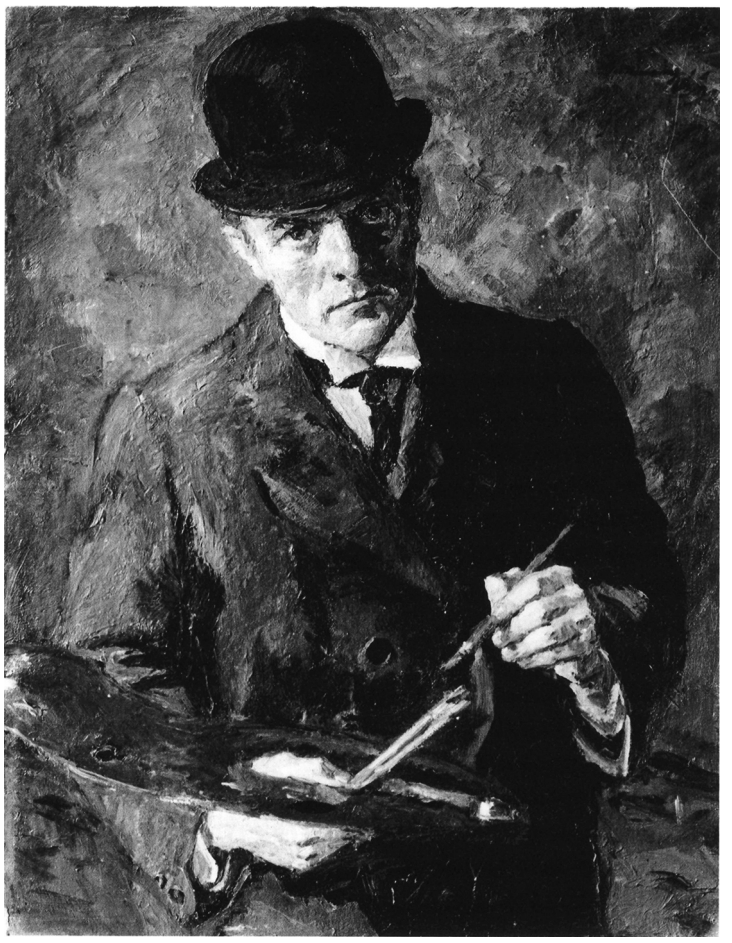


Fig. 14. Max Beckmann. *Self-Portrait with Hat*, 1910. Oil on canvas; 92 x 73 cm. Göpel 135. Destroyed. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

seascapes dominate his early oeuvre (see cat. 1). Small-scale canvases and portrait commissions sustained him financially; yet he longed for the fame that resulted in this period from success in annual juried exhibitions and association with established Berlin gallerists, such as Paul Cassirer.[5] "Max painted his large paintings for which there were no patrons," recalled Minna Beckmann-Tube, the artist's first wife. "He longed for large walls."[6] Beckmann's preference for working

on a monumental scale set him apart from many of his artist peers, but contemporary critics typically saw these canvases, such as *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* (cat. 4), as delusions of grandeur.[7] Glaser observed in 1910 that Beckmann had succeeded in positioning himself as a leader among the young Berlin painters "less as a result of his overwhelming skill than the large formats he selects."[8] Critics were quick to note his talent, but often in terms of his potential rather than his achievements. Beckmann, it was widely thought in those early years, took on too much too quickly and was still "unripe" as a painter.[9]

In 1900 Beckmann was enrolled at the Weimar Großherzoglich-Sächsische Kunstschule (Weimar Saxon Grand-Ducal Art School). Under the tutelage of the Norwegian painter Frithjof Smith, he learned, in the words of his first biographer, Hans Kaiser, "the craft of painting" (*das Handwerkliche der Malerei*).[10] Smith directed him to draw from the model and taught him the technique he would use all his life, sketching compositions in charcoal on primed canvas before applying paint. Beckmann later wrote, however, that his "real" academic training occurred later.[11] By this he meant his exposure to the work of other artists and his experiences in the Secession, rather than his official schooling. In Germany at this moment, painters were engaging with a variety of traditions at once, and Beckmann was no exception. The multitude of influences on the young artist included French painters from Eugène Delacroix to Paul Cézanne and the impressionists; symbolists Edvard Munch and Ferdinand Hodler; German predecessors such as the realist artist Wilhelm Leibl; and current Secession leaders such as Lovis Corinth, Liebermann, and Max Slevogt.[12] Drawing on all of these precedents, Beckmann tackled an array of mythological, biblical, and recent historical narratives, often in large formats.

Berlin Secession

In 1903 Beckmann left school in Weimar (without completing his studies) for Paris, the undisputed capital of the art world at that time. There he admired the work of Édouard Manet, Edgar Degas, and, above all, Cézanne and worked on a large pointillist painting of a horse and rider.[13] He then promptly destroyed the unfinished canvas, describing it later as "twice as big as those with which I later aroused admiration and disdain among my respected peers."[14] In Berlin, where he settled in 1904, Beckmann had ample opportunity to continue his study of French painting. Although the first Secession exhibition was dedicated solely to German work, the annual event thereafter featured international art.[15] Despite the premise that it privileged no single style, the Secession and, for that matter, Liebermann, an avid collector of and apologist for recent French art, were closely associated with impressionism. Cassirer, whose gallery promoted French art, is said to have been the first to dub Corinth, Liebermann, and Slevogt the "triumvirate of German impressionism."[16] In Germany at this time, the term "impressionism" implied both the influence of French painting and a move away from nineteenth-century realism, of which Liebermann had been a major proponent.[17]

Beckmann's engagement with French and German impressionism was matched only by his regard for the German realist tradition, which was strongly influenced by the work of Gustave Courbet and best embodied in that of Leibl.[18] This tradition also shaped Liebermann's trajectory and constituted the historical basis of the Secession.[19] In 1906 Beckmann submitted *Old Female Nude* (fig. 15) to the eleventh annual Secession exhibition.[20] The painting, which was destroyed during World War II, depicted an almost life-size, elderly

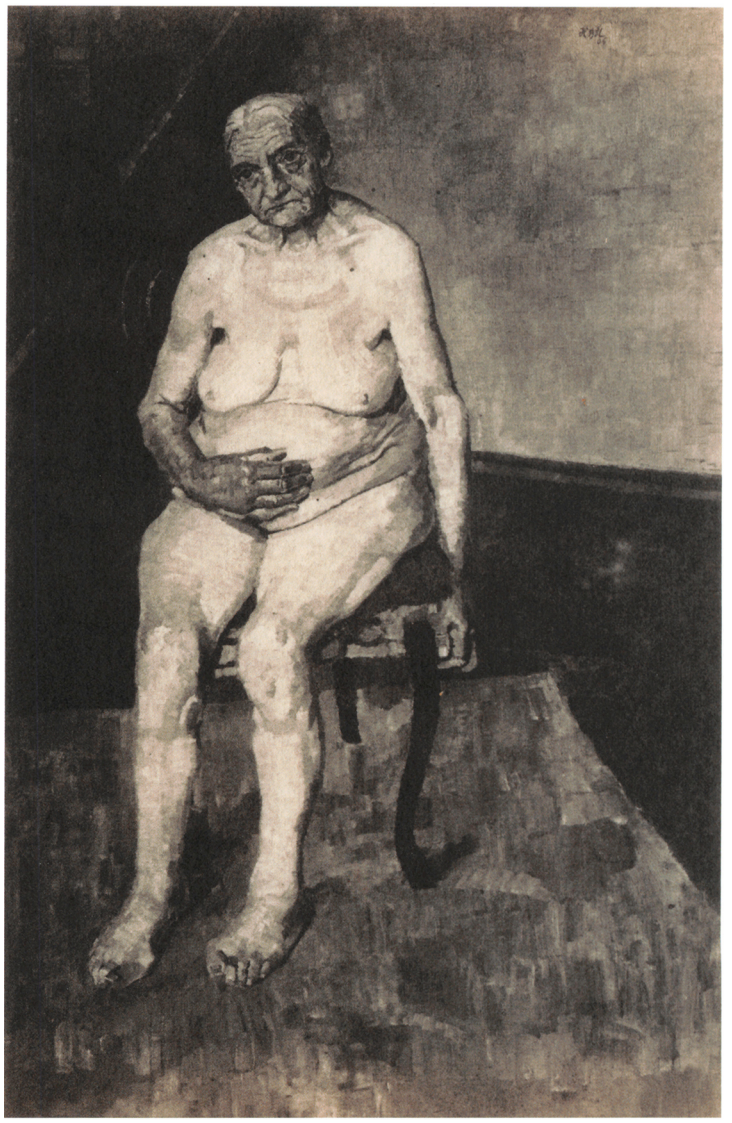


Fig. 15. Max Beckmann. *Old Female Nude*, 1905. Oil on canvas; 155 x 97 cm. Göpel 47. Destroyed.

naked woman—a maid in the artist's employ—seated on a chair. Beckmann's close observation of the model is revealed in the yellowish tone of her forearms and head, visibly darkened by exposure to the sun.[21] The woman's nudity, inert pose, and absent gaze are made all the more palpable in the absence of narrative, a rarity in early paintings by the artist. The humble subject and naturalistic depiction also stood in glaring opposition to the imperial preference for idealized nudes. Liebermann is said to have praised *Old Female Nude*, but, for unknown reasons, felt that it could not be shown at the Secession.[22] Two other paintings by Beckmann were displayed instead: a "wild sea," entitled *Gray Sea* (likely Göpel 31; private collection), and *Sick Children* (Göpel 53; location unknown).[23] One reviewer described the latter as follows: "Painted in violet and red-violet tones, the picture of a home for disturbed children is of an all too horrible truthfulness than that it could easily please the viewer."[24] The depiction of everyday life in large-scale canvases originated in mid-nineteenth-century France. Liebermann's paintings of orphanages and homes for the elderly may also have served as models for Beckmann, who executed *Sick Children* following a visit to a residence for mentally ill youngsters in Babelsberg, near Berlin.[25] As late as 1919, Beckmann claimed to be "still a pupil of Liebermann and Leibl" in his desire for "honest representation."[26]

Recent scholars have echoed Beckmann's contemporaries in eschewing the French realist tradition and its German counterpart as prime influences on the artist in favor of other French models closely tied to the then-waning tradition of history painting, such as the art of Théodore Géricault and Delacroix. Beckmann, it is widely believed, attempted to revive that tradition with his large-format canvases and challenging contemporary themes.[27] His aim, as he wrote in 1911, was to "produce great dramatic actions of general human subject matter . . . out of the spirit of our own time."[28] Like Géricault's *Raft of the Medusa* (1818–19; Musée du Louvre, Paris), Delacroix's *Massacre at Chios* (1824; Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Manet's Execution of Maximilian series, several of Beckmann's major canvases were based on recent events and documentation provided by eyewitness accounts and newspaper reports.[29] The "German Delacroix," as Beckmann is said to have referred to himself, rarely faired well when compared, as he frequently was, by critics to such French masters.[30] His large-scale compositions, like his French antecedents, were not immediately appreciated. For example the over-nine-feet-wide *Scene from the Destruction of Messina*, depicting the aftermath of a 1908 earthquake in the Sicilian city, met with overwhelmingly negative critical response. Five years later, Kaiser compared this canvas to others by French masters, but he was hopeful that, as with their work, the painting's historical significance would eventually be acknowledged. "When the *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* . . . was exhibited in early 1909 at the Secession," he declared, "the painter was called a journalist and illustrator. One wrote the same thing fifty years ago in Paris when Delacroix exhibited his *Massacre at Chios*."[31]

Working meticulously from the model, Beckmann often exhibited his figure drawings and compositional studies at the Secession's annual exhibitions. These intensely observed figures, critics felt, seemed to have been inserted verbatim into the epic narratives of his paintings. For them, in other words, it was as if Beckmann had asked the subject of *Old Female Nude*, in all of her convincing physicality, to play a sibyl or mourn at the foot of a cross. In Glaser's opinion, Beckmann, Corinth, and Slevogt all demonstrated the same inability to mask the "model-like quality" (*modellmässige*) of their figural groupings.[32] Kaiser singled out Beckmann's *The Battle* (fig. 16) as being an all-too-obvious life study (*Modellstudium*).[33] "The painter," he wrote, "thought only of painting. The nudes have become too beautiful to be alive and real. . . . The overly still-life character of the painting ruins the mood and the feeling of a battle."[34] Critics struggled to see beyond the studied, academic quality of Beckmann's figures and found the relationships between them and his sense of space strained or unconvincing.[35]

Beckmann addressed this criticism in subsequent compositions (see cat. 4) and underscored his ongoing concern with the construction of space in an article entitled "Thoughts on Timely and Untimely Art," which appeared in Paul Cassirer's journal *Pan* in 1912. A polemic against expressionism (the article responded to an essay by the artist Franz Marc that appeared in the periodical one week before), Beckmann's text stresses the significance of plasticity and the modeling of forms.[36] Quality in art, he wrote, is "the feeling . . . for the peach-colored sheen of the skin, for the glint of a nail, for the sensual in art, which resides in the softness of the flesh, in the depth and gradation of space, not only on the surface but also in depth." His emphasis on the "allure of the material" (*Reiz der Materie*) underlies his impastoed canvases of these years.[37] Often misperceived as dark, even predominantly black—due in large part to the unavailability of the originals and poor, typically black-and-white reproductions—Beckmann's early works in fact exhibit a remarkable range of hues, as the paintings discussed in this chapter demonstrate. In his volume on the artist, Kaiser carefully tracked Beckmann's development as a colorist, noting the red-yellow of a face, green shadows, and golden mountains.[38] Like Corinth, Beckmann provoked Secession audiences with nudes rendered in thick, colorful pigments (see cat. 6). When it debuted in 1908, Beckmann's colossal *Battle* was referred to as a "nude ragout" (*Aktragout*), a dense stew of numerous "blue, yellow, green and red people."[39] The concern for color and space, along with history, that is reflected in Beckmann's early paintings would remain fundamental to his art throughout his career.

Fig. 16. Max Beckmann. *The Battle*, 1907. Oil on canvas; 293 x 332 cm. Göpel 85. Museum Ludwig, Cologne, ML 01513.

The Sinking of the Secession

On January 7, 1913, Beckmann created a preliminary list of works to be shown at his first solo exhibition in Berlin, at Paul Cassirer's gallery, later that month.[40] He initially considered including the large *Messina* canvas, but crossed it off the list, choosing instead a number of portraits, including *Portrait of Mink with Violet Shawl* (cat. 5), landscapes, and large-scale canvases of religious or mythological rather than contemporary subjects—perhaps in an attempt to quell recurrent criticism in the press. An undated photograph of Beckmann in his studio, likely taken in late 1912, reveals much about him at this moment (fig. 17).[41] The artist, probably twenty-eight at the time, sits with his hands in his pockets and legs crossed, dwarfed by his monumental *Sinking of the Titanic* (cat. 7); a bowler hat and coat hang casually on an easel at the left. Neither painting nor posing as if he is, Beckmann stares past the camera, his mouth slightly ajar. His presence underscores the massive scale of the already framed canvas, which he would later revise. The finished work pleased Beckmann, but he was filled with doubt about its potential for success.[42] Word of the painting was out even before it appeared in the twenty-sixth annual Secession exhibition, also organized by Cassirer, the group's new president. Joseph Adler saw the composition's size and contemporary historical subject as a publicity ploy to counter "sinking" (pun intended) interest in the Secession.[43] Once the exhibition opened, criticism of the picture continued. "The rowboats are stuffed to the brim with models. . . ," wrote another reviewer. "Anyone who says they were shaken by the painting for even a moment is lying to himself."[44] Max

Fig. 17. Max Beckmann in his Hermsdorf (Berlin) studio with *Sinking of the Titanic* (cat. 7), c. 1912. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

Osborn declared, "Beckmann wants to grapple with the incomprehensible powers that control our lives with the depiction of such horrific human tragedies, but he misses the mark, sliding ever deeper into the literary, illustrative, even if a large, willful presentation tries to mask that."[45] In response to the exhibition of Beckmann's art at Cassirer's gallery earlier that year, Osborn had praised the young artist's landscapes and portraits as making the "most mature impression," but surmised that "perhaps Beckmann places greater value in the stormy big formats right next to them."[46]

As Charles Haxthausen argued, the debut of *Titanic* at the Secession was "poorly timed."[47] The exhibition highlighted the work of Secession greats Liebermann and Wilhelm Trübner, as well as "the fathers of modernism" Cézanne and Vincent van Gogh, along with Pierre Auguste Renoir, Georges Seurat, and Henri Matisse. Although refusing to join the Secession, expressionist painters participated in the exhibition in full force, and, as a result, examples by Erich Heckel, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Max Pechstein, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and, for the first time, Oskar Kokoschka were also on view.[48] Alongside these, Beckmann's canvas struck critics, in Haxthausen's words, as an "ambitious failure"—a judgment in keeping with the response to Beckmann's work as a whole during this period.[49] Thus, Kaiser's comprehensive study of the artist published earlier that year appears to have been a deliberate attempt to distinguish the Secession, and Beckmann, from new developments in painting. Published in 1913 to coincide with the exhibition at Cassirer's, Kaiser's book begins not with a statement about the artist, but rather with an account of the significance of Liebermann and the reception of impressionism in Berlin in fostering German artists' return to the painterly. The author, like Beckmann, judged the "new ideas in painting"—expressionism, cubism, futurism—to be "decorative."[50] By the fall of 1913, the Secession suffered its final schism. Liebermann resigned and formed the Freie Secession (Free Secession), joined by Beckmann, Pechstein, and others.[51] *Sinking of the Titanic* was the last large-scale painting Beckmann executed before World War I. He focused instead on still lifes, modest views of Berlin, in particular street scenes that depict the bustling pace of the city.[52]

Kaiser's hope that Beckmann's early art would come to be appreciated, much as Delacroix's was reassessed positively later in his career, was not realized; it was largely forgotten during the artist's lifetime and has received much less attention in the vast scholarship on him than the rest of his oeuvre. Despite a 1928 retrospective exhibition (see Chapter 2), which showcased many of Beckmann's early canvases for the first time since the war, and an exhibition at the Kunsthalle Basel two years later, this body of work was barely offered on the market during his lifetime. In 1930 the Cassirer gallery auctioned off the collection of the late Henry Simms, a dedicated, Hamburg-based collector of Beckmann's prewar art and the first owner of *Portrait of Mink with Violet Shawl*.[53] Unlike work by Corinth in Simms's collection and Beckmann's *Self-Portrait with Hat*, which attracted ready buyers, "ten large Beckmann pictures, characteristic of the prewar period found no interested parties."[54] After Beckmann and Beckmann-Tube were divorced, in 1925, his early art remained largely in her possession, hanging in the couple's former home in Hermsdorf (Berlin) (see cat. 3). A number of canvases stored at the property, including *Old Female Nude*, were destroyed in a bombing raid in 1944/45, which further impeded appreciation of Beckmann's early output.[55] The extant paintings from this time were not shown publicly until the 1950s.[56] During the 1950s and early 1960s, Morton D. May purchased pre–World War I examples by the artist directly from his family and early patrons or their heirs, several of whom were German émigrés to the United States. May's collection of Beckmann's prewar work was unique, and thus the Saint Louis Art Museum holds the single best public representation of the first period of his career, thereby illustrating the very foundations of his art.[57]

NOTES

1. Gallwitz 1982–83, pp. 147–55. Even as late as 1974, Ewald Gäßler could note the overwhelming focus on Beckmann's work after World War I. Gäßler 1974, pp. 22–28. For more on Beckmann's prewar years, see Zeiller 2003; Hamlin 2007; Washton Long/Makela 2009, esp. Jay A. Clarke, "Space as Metaphor: Beckmann and the Conflicts of Secessionist Style in Berlin," pp. 49–80, and Karen Lang, "Max Beckmann's Inconceivable Modernism," pp. 81–101; Schneede 2009, pp. 13–45.

2. For an early history of the Secession, see Curt Glaser, "Die Geschichte der Berliner Sezession I, II," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 26 (1928), pp. 14–20, 66–70. For later studies of the organization, see Pfefferkorn 1972; Doede 1977; Paret 1980.

3. Glaser (note 2), p. 20. "Die Wille zur Verjüngung der Vereinigung wurde von Jahr zu Jahr in zunehmendem Maße betont." (From year to year, the desire to rejuvenate the association was emphasized increasingly.)

4. See MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Dec. 27, 1908, p. 7. Beckmann held the position only briefly, from Feb. 9 until the following fall, when he stepped down, a decision that Gäßler attributed to generational conflict. Gäßler 1974, pp. 1, 10.

5. In 1901 the gallery previously shared by Bruno and Paul Cassirer became the Kunstsalon Paul Cassirer Berlin. Paul was named secretary of the Berlin Secession that year. For more on the Cassirers' close involvement with the Secession, see Paret 1980, esp. pp. 59–91.

6. MBT, "Erinnerungen an Max Beckmann," in MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, p. 176. "Max malte seine großen Bilder, für die es aber keinen Mäzen gab. Er sehnte sich nach großen Wänden."

7. See for example Alfred Lichtwark, June 18, 1910, in *Briefe an die Kommission für die Verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, vol. 1910 (1918), p. 121, cited in Schneede 2009, p. 44. "Typisch ist der junge Beckmann, der von Größenwahn geschwollen jedes Jahr ein paar große Schinken auf die Ausstellung schickt, von denen man beim besten Willen nicht sagen kann, was sie sollen." (A typical example is the young Beckmann, who, overblown with delusions of grandeur, sends a few oversized canvases to the exhibition each year, of which it is impossible to say by any stretch of the imagination what they are about.)

8. Curt Glaser, "Die zwanzigste Ausstellung der Berliner Secession," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte für freie und angewandte Kunst* 25 (1910), p. 439. "Der sich weniger durch sein überragendes Können, als durch die große Formate, die er wählt, zum Führer unter den Jüngeren aufgeworfen hat." (Who became a leader among the younger ones less as a result of his overwhelming skill than the large formats he selects.) Due to Beckmann's reputation for submitting oversized canvases for exhibition, which Lichtwark (note 7) dubbed, literally, "big hams" (*grosse Schinken*), critics expressed surprise to see Beckmann's smaller-scale still lifes and landscapes on public view. See for example Johannes Sievers, "Berliner Kunstausstellungen," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte für freie und angewandte Kunst* 27 (1912), p. 76.
9. See for example Lichtwark, May 18, 1911, in *Briefe an die Kommission für die Verwaltung der Kunsthalle*, vol. 1911 (1919), p. 87, cited in Schneede 2009, p. 44. "Ein fabelhaftes Talent. Aber unausgegohren." (A phenomenal talent. But unripe.)
10. Kaiser 1913, p. 6.
11. MB to Reinhard Piper, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Mar. 1923, no. 236, p. 232; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 275. See, similarly, MB to Julius Meier-Graefe, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, mid-Mar. 1919, no. 172, p. 176.
12. Barbara Buenger traced Beckmann's artistic sources; she noted in particular his reference to Secessionist painters Ludwig von Hoffmann and Wilhelm Trübner, artists who have not generally been mentioned by writers on Beckmann. Buenger 1979.
13. Göpel 1957a, pp. 9–10.
14. MB to Piper (note 11). "Malte ein 2 mal so großes Riesenbild als wie ich später die geachtete Mitwelt mit großen Formaten in Erstaunen und Mißachtung versetzte."
15. Examples by a number of non-Germans, among them Camille Pissarro and Pierre Auguste Renoir, were shown in 1900. *Katalog der Zweiten Kunstausstellung der Berliner Secession* (Berlin: Bruno & Paul Cassirer, 1900), pp. 33–34. A central focus of the 1901 exhibition was work by Claude Monet, Pissarro, and Renoir. *Katalog der Dritten Kunstausstellung der Berliner Secession* (Berlin: Bruno & Paul Cassirer, 1901), p. 13.
16. Marion Deshmukh, Françoise Forster-Hahn, and Barbara Gaehtgens, eds., *Max Liebermann and International Modernism. An Artist's Career from Empire to Third Reich* (New York: Berghahn Books, 2011). Based on a comment by Charlotte Berend-Corinth, Peter Paret tentatively credited Cassirer with initiating the reference to the three artists as "the constellation of German Impressionism." Paret 1980, p. 102. Scholars have since largely accepted this grouping as fact.
17. Paret 1980, p. 102. Paret noted that the term "impressionism" as applied to German art was "inevitably misinterpreted," and that it was not intended to suggest that French impressionism had exerted a decisive influence on German artists. The similarities and differences between French and German painters associated with the term have since been heavily debated. See Robert Fleck, "Thesen zu Max Liebermann," in *Max Liebermann: Wegbereiter der Moderne* (Cologne: DuMont, 2011), pp. 12–21; Thomas W. Gaehtgens, "Liebermann and Impressionism?," in Deshmukh et al. (note 16), pp. 51–61.
18. Courbet had an enormous impact on artists of Leibl's generation. See *Courbet und Deutschland* (Cologne: DuMont, 1978), esp. pp. 575–84.
19. Glaser (note 2), p. 20. Leibl was named an honorary member of the Secession; thirty-six of his paintings were listed in its 1908 exhibition catalogue. Berlin 1908, pp. 24–30.
20. Göpel 1976, no. 47, vol. 1, pp. 62–63.
21. This reference to the painting's palette is based on a comment Minna Beckmann-Tube later made about the work, in which she recalled the delicacy of the subject's yellow skin against a gray background. MBT, "Erinnerungen an Max Beckmann," in MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, p. 169.
22. Ibid. The reason for Liebermann's rejection of the work could have been its lack of a historical or religious narrative, to which both he and Corinth were drawn that year. See Berlin 1906.
23. MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, p. 405, n. 25. See also Berlin 1906, p. 14.
24. Eg. [Eggeling], "Eigenbericht über die Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession 1906," *Deutschland* 6 (1906), cited in Scheidig 1961, p. 81. "Das mit violetten und rotvioletten Tönen gemalte Bild aus einem Asyl idiotischer Kinder ist von zu furchtbarer Wahrheit, als daß es dem Beschauer leicht zusagen könnte."
25. According to MBT, cited in Göpel 1976, no. 53, vol. 1, p. 65.
26. MB, cited in Piper 1950, p. 25. "Ich mache keine Formen um ihrer selbst willen—alles ornamentale Schnörkel. Alles muß gegenständlich bleiben. Insofern kann man sagen, bin ich heute noch ein Schüler von Liebermann und Leibl. Ich will dieselbe ehrliche Gegenständlichkeit wie sie." (I don't make any forms for their own sake—that's all ornamental embellishment. Everything must stay representational. I guess you could say that I am to this day still a pupil of Liebermann and Leibl. I want the same honest representation that they do.) Piper recalled Beckmann making this statement when he saw *The Night* (1919; Göpel 200) in the artist's Frankfurt studio. Karen Lang noted Beckmann's debt to Courbet's realism. She distinguished the former's larger-than-life compositions—intended, in her opinion, to be attention grabbers—from "the more painterly art of German 'impressionism.'" Lang (note 1), p. 86.
27. See for example Haxthausen 1985, pp. 72–74; Schneede 2009, esp. p. 29. Amy Hamlin referred to "pseudo-history paintings." Hamlin 2007, p. 207.
28. MB to Count Harry Kessler, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Apr. 18, 1911, no. 50, pp. 65–66. "Große dramatische Aktionen allgemein menschlichen Inhalts . . . aus dem Geist unserer Zeit heraus hervorzubringen."
29. The final and most definitive work by Manet on the subject of the execution of Archduke Maximilian of Austria in Mexico (1868–69) was purchased by the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1910 (it was one of the earliest acquisitions made by the museum's director, Fritz Wichert; see intro. to Chap. 3 and cat. 38) and shown that same year at the Berlin Secession.
30. Göpel 1957a, p. 10.
31. Kaiser 1913, p. 28. "Als die Szene aus dem 'Untergang von Messina' . . . im Frühjahr 1909 in der Sezession ausgestellt wurde, nannte man den Maler Journalist und Illustrator. Das gleiche hatte man vor 50 Jahren in Paris geschrieben, als Delacroix sein 'Massacre de Scio' ausstellte."
32. Glaser (note 8), p. 439. This was echoed by later scholars as well; see for example Lenz 1976, p. 13; Haxthausen 1985, p. 6.
33. Kaiser 1913, p. 20.
34. Ibid. "Der Maler hat nur an die Malerei gedacht. Die Akte sind zu schön geworden, um lebendig und wirklich zu sein. . . . Die zu stillebenartige Malerei verdirbt die Stimmung und Empfindung einer Schlacht."
35. Klaus Gallwitz understood Beckmann's compositions as intentionally multifocused so that, when assessed according to classical compositional principles, they would seem "disorganized." Gallwitz 1982–83, p. 153. For a contemporary critique of Corinth along similar lines (his biblical Susanna "too human," his space "diffused"), see Julias Elias, "Das Zehnte Berliner Sezessionsjahr," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 7 (1909), pp. 402–3.
36. See Franz Marc, "Die Neue Malerei," *Pan* 2, 16 (1912), pp. 468–71; MB, "Gedanken über Zeitgemäße und Unzeitgemäße Kunst," *Pan* 2, 17 (1912), pp. 499–512 (English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 111–17); Marc, "Anti-Beckmann," *Pan* 2, 19 (1912), pp. 555–56. For more on the exchange, see Dietrich Schubert, "Die Beckmann–Marc–Kontroverse von 1912: 'Sachlichkeit' versus 'innerer Klang,'" in Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, pp. 175–87.
37. MB, "Gedanken . . ." (note 37); English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 116. Barbara Buenger and Reinhold Heller translated the German *Reiz* as "fascination"; it is translated here as "allure."

38. Kaiser 1913, pp. 14, 20.
39. Robert Schmidt, "Die fünfzehnte Ausstellung der Berliner Secession," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte für freie und angewandte Kunst* 23 (1908), p. 413. "Ein Aktragout setzt wieder einmal Max Beckmann vor. Mag er den nackten Körper zu seinem Privatvergnügen resp. Studium malen so viel er will—aber er sollte uns nicht seine blauen, gelben, grünen und roten Menschen in dieser unglaublichen Weise vorführen wie auf dem Riesenschinken, den er 'Schlacht' tituliert." (Beckmann presents yet another nude ragout. He is free to paint the naked body for his own private enjoyment or study as much as he wishes, but he should not show us his blue, yellow, green and red people in the unbelievable way he does on the huge canvas that he titles "Battle.") See also Berlin 1908, p. 16.
40. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, Jan. 7, 1913, p. 111; see also p. 150, n. 21.
41. Several authors analyzed this photograph in great depth. See Gallwitz 1982–83, pp. 148–51; Belting 1989, pp. 17–18; Chametzky 2009, pp. 262–64. The photograph has been dated variously to 1912, 1912/13, and 1913. On either side of *Titanic* can be seen two smaller canvases turned face-out: a nude study (1908; Göpel 103) on the left and *Large Death Scene* (1906; Göpel 61) on the right.
42. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, Mar. 17, 1913, p. 121; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 127.
43. Joseph Adler, "Vom andern Ufer: Der Untergang der 'Titanic' auf der Berliner Sezession," *Der Sturm* 4, 158–59 (May 1913), p. 23. "Der 'Untergang der Titanic' ein Bluff, der das sinkende Interesse an der Sezession wieder heben soll." (The "Sinking of the Titanic," a bluff intended to lift the sinking interest in the Secession.)
44. Rudolf Klein-Diepold, "Die Berliner Sezession," *Magdeburger Zeitung* (month and day unknown), 1913, cited in Wiese 1978, p. 30. "Die Kähne sind vollgestopft mit Modellen. . . . Der würde sich anlügen, der behauptete, von dem Bild auch nur einen Moment erschüttert zu sein."
45. Max Osborn, "Die Sommerausstellung der Berliner Secession" *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 32 (May 9, 1913), p. 461. "Beckmann möchte sich durch die Schilderung menschlicher Tragödien von solcher Furchtbarkeit mit den unbegreiflichen Mächten auseinandersetzen, die unser Leben beherrschen, aber er gleitet dabei immer tiefer ins Literarische, Illustrative, wenn auch ein breiter, eigenwilliger Vortrag darüber hinwegzutäuschen versucht."
46. [Max Osborn], "Ausstellungen: Berlin," *Kunstchronik: Wochenschrift für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 20 (Feb. 14, 1913), p. 278. "Doch vielleicht legt Beckmann selbst auf die stürmischen großen Kompositionen, die daneben stehen, weit größeren Wert."
47. Haxthausen 1985, p. 6. See also Chametsky 2009, pp. 240–49, which, among other things, addresses the growing importance of narrative films as another cause for the canvas's failure.
48. Glaser (note 2), p. 68.
49. Haxthausen 1985, p. 6.
50. Kaiser 1913, p. 4. "Die 'neue Ideen in der Malerei', dekorativer Impressionismus, Expressionismus, Synthetismus, Kubismus, Futurismus usw." (The "new ideas in painting," decorative impressionism, expressionism, syntheticism, cubism, futurism etc.) Hans Kaiser's monograph does not correspond exactly to what Cassirer's galley displayed. As Buenger has pointed out, Kaiser was not aware of Cassirer's final choices for the show (they differed as well from the list Beckmann made in his diary). MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 361, n. 24. For a list of exhibited works, see Gordon 1974, p. 651.
51. Gäßler 1974, p. 11; Selz 1974, pp. 237–38; Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 16.
52. Beckmann cut down the only other large-scale composition from 1913 fifteen years later. He reduced it to a fragment on which he depicted himself, his wife, and their son. See Göpel 1976, no. 180, vol. 1, p. 125.
53. *Meister des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung Simms, Hamburg*, sale cat. (Berlin: Paul Cassirer/Hugo Helbig, Nov. 14, 1930). There was no market for Beckmann's early paintings, and he complained about the sale's poor timing. MB to Rudolf von Simolin, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Oct. 18, 1930, no. 541, p. 177.
54. "Preise," *Das Kunstblatt* 12 (1930), scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Zehn große Bilder Beckmanns, charakteristische Werke der Vorkriegszeit, fanden kein Interesse. Fast alle gingen mit 500 Mark zurück." (There was no interest in ten big Beckmann paintings, characteristic works of the prewar period. Almost all remained unsold at 500 marks.) Beckmann's *Self-Portrait with Hat* (fig. 14) was sold to the Kunstverein Kassel; it was destroyed in a 1944 bombing raid on Munich. See Göpel 1976, vol. 1, no. 135, p. 103.
55. According to Peter Beckmann, cited in Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 62.
56. Although there is no evidence that the Beckmanns had an official divorce settlement, Beckmann-Tube retained a number of the artist's works. In a 1926 letter, she mentioned thirty-four paintings that she had framed and displayed in the Hermsdorf house. MBT to Günther Franke, cited in MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 319, n. 406. Beckmann-Tube moved to Gauting, near Munich, in late 1944/early 1945. Wieg 2005, p. 70. When the paintings were transferred from Hermsdorf in 1950, some canvases could not be located and others were found to be damaged. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, pp. 63–64. In correspondence with Beckmann after the war, Beckmann-Tube noted that his large paintings were still in Hermsdorf, but that the house was in poor condition. She also mentioned an idea to turn the residence into "a small Beckmann Museum" ("ein kleines Musée Beckmann"). MBT to MB, Mar. 17 and Apr. 23, 1947, in Wieg 2005, pp. 102–4.
57. Several early works are in American private collections, and the Los Angeles County Museum owns *Bacchanal* (1909; Göpel 105).

Cat. 1

Gray Day at the Sea

1907
Oil on canvas; 29⅛ x 36⅜ in. (74 x 92.4 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 834:1983

In the late summer of 1907, Beckmann visited the coast of the Baltic Sea near the German city of Schlawe (now Sławno, Poland).[1] It is likely there that he executed this depiction of the push and pull of water along the shore. Below a dark and cloudy sky, rolling blue and green waves echo the horizon line. Their irregularity breaks the composition's otherwise parallel structure, as do the frothy caps and sprays. The violet and brown of the sand in the foreground suggest distance from the expanse of sea, but the thick facture draws the viewer's attention back to the painting's surface, collapsing that distance once again. In this, Beckmann may have been inspired by the notable series of wave paintings by Gustave Courbet, whose work he repeatedly praised.[2] On the horizon is a small, dark outline of a ship, its two large smokestacks at a noticeable angle. At least one scholar argued that Beckmann intended to depict the steamboat sinking.[3] This interpretation, while not definitive, invites a narrative reading in keeping with the artist's later portrayals of human tragedy at sea (see cats. 2, 7).

A well-known photograph (fig. 1/1) shows Beckmann working outside, in the impressionist tradition adopted by fellow Secessionist painters Max Liebermann and Max Slevogt.[4] In 1905, while painting at the shore, Beckmann expressed respect for Claude Monet, who had, he wrote, "so much talent that I often still bow to him here now at the ocean."[5] In the photograph, Beckmann, clad in a dark suit, appears to be working on a painting of the dunes on which he stands.[6] Visible granules of sand found in the thick impasto of *Gray Day at the Sea* confirm that it too was executed (at least in part) on the beach.[7]

Beckmann loved the sea, and seascapes constitute almost one quarter of his early work.[8] Their prevalence in his output of this period has caused considerable difficulty in identifying the Saint Louis Art Museum's unsigned and undated painting. The published titles vary. *Seascape*, the most common, was used in the Göpels' 1976 catalogue raisonné of the artist's paintings. Morton D. May referred to the work for many years as *Stormy Day at Sea*, the title of a seascape catalogued in 1949 as dating to c. 1905.[9] In all likelihood, however, the canvas is identical with a 1907 painting mentioned in Beckmann's meticulously maintained picture list as *Gray Day at the Sea* (*Grauer Tag am Meer*).[10] The 1907 *Sea in the Evening* (fig. 1/2) bears strong similarities to the St. Louis canvas in its palette and impasto surface. Both exhibit thick, curving brushstrokes rather than the patches of color typical of Beckmann's 1905 pictures. The absence of land and repetition of diagonally oriented waves in *Sea in the Evening* make it a dynamic counterpart to *Gray Day at the Sea*. Although she offered a number of other suggestions in response to an inquiry from May, Quappi Beckmann, the artist's second wife, wrote, "I am sure this painting is *Grauer Tag am Meer*."[11]

Fig. 1/1. Max Beckmann painting outdoors, c. 1907. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

Fig. 1/2. Max Beckmann, *Sea in the Evening*, 1907. Oil on canvas, 72.5 x 91.5 cm. Göpel 79. Private collection.

Gray Day at the Sea was sold to Morton D. May in 1959 by Austrian émigré Olga Eisner (1887–1982). Eisner (née Mauksch), a mezzo soprano, married Emil Schaeffer (1874–1944), an art historian, in 1905. The couple lived in Berlin, where Eisner shared a singing instructor, Tilly Erlenmeyer, with Minna Beckmann-Tube.[12] Schaeffer was one of the earliest collectors of Beckmann's work, and, according to Eisner, he purchased the canvas they called *Wellen im Meer* (Waves in the Sea) in 1908 or 1910.[13] After their divorce, which occurred before 1922, the painting remained with Eisner. She remarried and, prohibited as a Jew from exercising her profession in Nazi Germany, eventually immigrated to the United States in the 1930s.[14] Eisner contacted Beckmann in 1950, hoping he would agree to sign the painting, but he died before he could do so.[15]

In his picture list, Beckmann explicitly noted the owner of *Gray Day at the Sea* as "Dr. Schaeffer." Hans Kaiser's 1913 publication on the artist refers to a 1907 painting *Gray Day* (*Grauer Tag*) and also places it in the collection of "Dr. Schaeffer, Berlin."[16] Kaiser, however, listed its measurements, likely erroneously, as 110 x 91 cm. This, along with the fact that Beckmann's list does not include dimensions, has led to confusion about the work's identity.[17]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 64.

Cat. 2

Shipwreck

1908
Oil on canvas; 31⅝ x 27⅝ in. (80.3 x 70.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 836:1983

In this 1908 painting, a number of nude or half-nude figures are seen at the ocean. As the title indicates, they are the survivors of a shipwreck, their tiny lifeboat washed ashore. Commentators have suggested that Beckmann witnessed such an incident on the North Frisian island of Sylt, but no direct evidence can be found to support this claim.[1] The figures in *Shipwreck* are grouped in the lower third of the canvas. A naked woman shivers in the cold while looking down at a corpse covered by a cloth. She dominates the right foreground; a brushy beige halo around her form separates her from the scene and, in particular, from two men (likely rescuers), who move purposefully around her. The pink and white of her skin contrasts with the brown shades used for the other figures, a traditional device that indicates gender difference (see also cats. 6, 28). At the left, two male nudes stand close to a third, seated figure who seems, like the woman, to be paralyzed by the trauma they have all experienced or witnessed. A man at the water's edge moves toward the waves in the middle ground, where the head and arm of a swimming figure can be seen. Unlike depictions of shipwrecks by Caspar David Friedrich, Andreas Achenbach, and other nineteenth-century German artists, here the capsized ship is nowhere in sight.[2] In *Shipwreck*, as in other paintings of the period (see cats. 4, 7), Beckmann did not focus on the dramatic incident but rather on its aftermath, on the plight of people. One contemporary critic argued that the work represents not one particular event, but rather the human condition. "It is an impression, but not just an impression of nature, but rather a material symbol of nature [*Natursymbol*] if you will, and poignant in its universality, poignantly human."[3] The likely source of such poignancy was skepticism about humankind's ultimate ability to dominate nature, along with respect for, and fear of, its power—a sentiment that was widespread in what was an increasingly technical age.[4]

The same writer described Beckmann's technique as "free, impressionist." Indeed, the brushwork in *Shipwreck* appears less finished than in other paintings by the artist from this period, but he must have considered it complete, for he exhibited it widely, including in Berlin at the 1909 Secession exhibition and in his first solo exhibition in the capital, at Paul Cassirer's gallery in 1913. In his book on Beckmann—a definitive examination of the artist's oeuvre to date—issued in concert with the latter exhibition, Hans Kaiser grouped the work with a series of canvases from the same moment, including *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* (cat. 4). Kaiser argued, perhaps polemically, that *Shipwreck* was more resolved compositionally (*vollendet*) than the large-scale *Messina*, which had been widely criticized.[5] Others found *Shipwreck* wanting and labeled it yet another example of Beckmann's over-reliance on studio models. When the painting was shown in Bremen in 1910, Curt Glaser (see cat. 12) claimed that the no-doubt talented young artist was not yet mature. "Max Beckmann still acts wilder than he likely is in truth. One continually asks oneself whether those who call him an academic in disguise are right when they suspect that behind the ostensible *Sturm und Drang* is a fear of [adhering to] the mold."[6] Indeed, the figures in *Shipwreck*, although quickly painted, assume symbolic, academic poses. The survivors at the far left are reminiscent of groups of mourners in religious paintings, such as the bereaved who stand stoically beneath Christ in depictions of the Crucifixion. The seated figure, who buries his face in his hand, an elbow resting on one knee, is the classic embodiment of melancholy.

One explanation for the work's unfinished look is that Beckmann started and finished it on August 31, 1908, the day his only child, Peter, was born.[7] Cassirer purchased the painting in 1914 and sold it three years later to the art historian Emil Waldmann (1880–1945), then director of the Kunsthalle Bremen.[8] Waldmann likely bought the painting on behalf of Kurt Specht (1874–1946), a medical doctor and resident of Bremen whose collection reflected the art historian's interest in the work of Secessionist painters Corinth, Liebermann, and Slevogt. In a 1918 article on Bremen private collections, Waldmann, not surprisingly, praised the painting highly. "Dr. Specht's waiting patients see which way the wind is blowing," wrote the curator, "and that with Beckmann a new stylistic will [*Stilwille*] is at work."[9] Specht is listed as the painting's owner beginning in 1917; his third wife, Antonia Specht (née Eggers; 1893–1961), sold *Shipwreck* to Morton D. May in 1953.[10]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 64–65.

Cat. 3

Three Women in the Studio

1908
Oil on canvas; 43⅝ x 47⅞ in. (110.8 x 121.6 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 835:1983

From 1908 until 1914, when he volunteered as a medical orderly in World War I, Beckmann lived in Hermsdorf, north of Berlin, in a house designed by his wife, Minna Beckmann-Tube (see cat. 5). The upper floor of the cube-shaped home contained a large studio that can be seen in early paintings and photographs (see fig. 17).[1] In addition to a skylight, an expansive window facing a forest was said to have cast the "strange green-grayish light" that is seen in such major prewar paintings as *Sinking of the Titanic* (cat. 7).[2]

By 1908 Beckmann's work was the subject of frequent critical discussion, of which the young artist was keenly aware.[3] Often accused of creating compositions lacking overall unity, Beckmann, it was felt, struggled with the relationships between individual figures and with achieving a convincing sense of recession into space (see cat. 4). As noted in the introduction to this chapter, writers also attacked the artist's apparent inability to transform his figures from models in his studio into believable protagonists of his narratives. The present work features three women, each in a different pose and state of undress. The figure at the far left appears to button up her gown, while the older, seated woman pulls a dark-colored stocking up to her left knee. The third, and most prominent, figure is nude; she raises her arms to gather her reddish locks behind her head. The floor is bare but for a reddish brown carpet and the nude model's discarded clothes. In the background, one can discern a number of canvases; the back of a large painting can be seen on the easel at the left. Behind the easel, a coal oven provides much-needed warmth.[4] By situating the scene in his workspace, Beckmann effectively sidestepped those critics who complained that they had difficulty "forgetting the model" in Beckmann's large-scale canvases.[5] The studio theme requires neither a unified figural composition nor an all-encompassing narrative.

Three Women in the Studio offered Beckmann more than respite from the monumental compositions of this moment and a way to elude criticism, however. His interest in distinct poses no doubt signals his engagement with the long-established tradition of atelier scenes. Perhaps exemplary of this is Georges Seurat's *Models* (fig. 3/1), which Beckmann may have known.[6] And yet, unlike Seurat's perfected, almost doll-like female forms, the unique physicality and age of each of Beckmann's models heighten the authenticity of the scene and thus introduce an air of familiarity. In the presence of women with whom he likely worked frequently in the intimacy of his studio, Beckmann here recalled his realist beginnings (see fig. 15).

Beckmann, like Seurat, relied heavily on life drawings. A notation, likely in Beckmann's hand, on an extant charcoal study (fig. 3/2) for the painting reads, "Sketch for Studio Scene" (*Entwurf zu Atelierszene*).[7] The painting relates closely to this drawing, with a few significant changes. The standing

Fig. 3/1. Georges Pierre Seurat (French; 1859–1891). *Models* (*Poseuses*), 1886–88. Oil on canvas; 200 x 249.9 cm. The Barnes Foundation, Philadelphia, BF811.

Fig. 3/2. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Three Women in the Studio,"* c. 1908. Charcoal on paper; 24.8 x 32.2 cm. Museum Folkwang, Essen.

nude in the painting appears more muscular than the round, well-endowed woman in the sketch. Whereas the space of the drawing is cluttered with figures and objects, the center of the painting is notably empty, revealing the join between floor and wall, which introduces a sense of depth. Like many other canvases of this period, *Three Women in the Studio* bears a date and a dedication to Beckmann's wife (*HBSL 08*) in the upper right-hand corner (for this acronym, see cat. 5). Although the painting is dated 1908, Beckmann mentioned it only once in his diary, on January 12, 1909, when, perhaps still concerned with conveying spatial depth, he returned to the painting to work on the background.[8]

Hanns Rabe (1890–1959), a homeopathic doctor and Beckmann's distant cousin, acquired this work in 1911.[9] At the time of his death, Rabe owned four paintings by the artist, including *The Prisoners* (cat. 6). Morton D. May purchased both canvases at auction from Rabe's estate through the Galerie Gerd Rosen, Berlin, in 1962.

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 65–66.

Cat. 4

Scene from the Destruction of Messina

1909
Oil on canvas; 100¼ x 105⅜ in. (254.6 x 267.7 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 837:1983

On December 29, 1908, the front page of the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* reported that an earthquake had almost completely destroyed the northern Sicilian city of Messina and the surrounding area. The quake occurred shortly before daybreak on December 28, taking the lives of some eighty thousand inhabitants. While reports were spotty at first, telegrams from the region mentioned collapsed buildings and thousands dead. As communication with Messina gradually improved, the Berlin paper printed eyewitness accounts, accompanied by seismographs and sketches of the city. Later reports included photographs of the extensive wreckage and ensuing chaos. Beckmann followed the news closely, and the result was his first large-scale depiction of a contemporary event.

Scene from the Destruction of Messina focuses less on the earthquake, resulting fires, and gigantic waves drowning the city's inhabitants than on the unruliness of human beings in the wake of disaster. "What nature did not destroy," the artist likely read in the paper, "the human race began to plunder and ravage."[1] Panicked victims ran through the streets, local militia were unable to control the situation, and soldiers were ordered to shoot on sight looters and other perpetrators of crimes.[2] According to Beckmann's diary, one news account in particular inspired the idea for an initial sketch (fig. 4/1). An eyewitness described how, in Beckmann's words, "some half-naked prisoners who had been set free attacked other

Fig. 4/1. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Scene from the Destruction of Messina,"* 1909. Ink on paper; 23.4 x 28.4 cm. Private collection.

Fig. 4/2. Max Beckmann. *Scene from the Destruction of Messina*. Verso.

people and their property in the terrible tumult."[3] Largely devoid of detailed background, the artist's ink drawing depicts five pairs of figures locked in physical struggle. Two large fires erupt amid them.

It took Beckmann several weeks before he put his idea on canvas. As was his practice, he began by sketching a design in charcoal on the linen.[4] The artist seems to have used the unprimed verso of the already stretched canvas to make a preliminary draft of the scene (fig. 4/2), perhaps in order to estimate the scale of the life-size figures on this, one of his largest canvases to date. In addition to a few long, sweeping lines of red and blue oil paint, the strokes in the lower third of the reverse of the canvas suggest a number of slumped bodies and heads, most notably the figure of a nude woman at the far right. In the final painting, which Beckmann undertook just two days after sketching his initial design, the five central pairs from the ink drawing remain, but they are joined by a number of others, lying dead or flailing their arms as they run through the dark streets. The chaos of the scene reflects repeated accounts of tremors literally flinging sleeping victims from their beds. Tiny figures at the upper right gather in hope of rescue at the water's edge. In the painting, an injured male has replaced the prominent female seen in the lower right-hand corner of the verso. Beckmann paid considerable attention to this man, constructing his face in a variety of unmixed colors, applied thickly one atop the other (see fig. 4/3). A substantial bloodstain, in two tones of red, runs along his forehead. Concerning this figure, Beckmann wrote about having had a "great inspiration in gold and dirty pink-violet."[5] In his 1913 publication on the artist, Hans Kaiser, too, noted significant coloristic development in *Messina*'s golden tones, "airy blue" (*vages Blau*), and pink, as well as a new, brushier technique.[6] In the end, the artist wondered whether the work had become a "little [too] colorful" (*bißchen bunt*).[7]

Beckmann painted *Messina* over the course of three months, working alternately—even on a single day—from models (including his wife, who posed for the figure at the far right), photographs, and his imagination.[8] When describing in his diary his struggles with the figures, the artist referred to them as distinct units: the "rape group" for the central pair, and the "two men fighting" for the uniformed officer pointing a pistol at a man wielding a dagger above his head.[9] Beckmann suggested the waning storm through a darkened sky and a pool of water at the lower left. He wrote, "Perhaps I'll get in something of the breathless terror, the grisly beauty of the subject."[10]

Scene from the Destruction of Messina may have been influenced at least in part by a violent episode Beckmann witnessed during his work on the canvas. In his diary, he related coming across two men fighting in a local train station. He intervened and stopped a police officer from using physical force to arrest one of the combatants.[11] *Messina* would eventually be interpreted as a study of the brutality of human nature and urban life, particularly in Berlin.[12] This may have originated with Kaiser, who in 1913 wrote of Messina as "a realistic symbol" of the German capital and also stated that "Beckmann is unimaginable without Berlin."[13] Kaiser maintained that the German capital inspired not only the artist's subjects but also the vibrant color and compressed space of his works: "Beckmann's view of life, united in the palette [*Koloristik*] and composition of his painting, is nurtured and reflected by Berlin."[14]

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, when the canvas debuted at the 1909 Secession exhibition, it was heavily criticized for being at once sensational and merely illustrative, and was judged to be an overly ambitious attempt at modern-day history painting.[15] *Messina* was disparagingly called reportage and Beckmann a "journalist" because he chose a current event as his subject and his depiction obviously relied on dailies.[16] A very likely source was the coverage in January by the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*. On January 21, the artist noted that he had executed "from photographs" the background, which his initial sketch lacks.[17] The upper-right portion of the painting corresponds almost exactly to a contemporary photograph of the Messina harbor from the January 17 issue (fig. 4/4).[18] Also striking is the ubiquitous presence in these images of large wooden barrels not unlike the one in the left center of Beckmann's painting. While the interior pages of the *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung* feature extensive photographs of the destruction, an illustration of the catastrophe by Gino de Finetti graces a cover of the publication (fig. 4/5). A skeletal figure of death wielding a scythe amid the ruins, Finetti's allegorical image helps explain critics' negative response to the uncompromising realism of Beckmann's painting.

Reviewing his work at the 1908 Secession exhibition, critics had argued that Beckmann was unable to integrate his figures into a convincing whole.[19] Perhaps in response, Beckmann agonized over just this issue while working on *Messina*. He took inspiration at the time from Francisco Goya's bullfight prints, which, he stated, have "a sumptuous life in them, a sense of space! . . . They have so much of what I now want, to work in that way with agitated masses."[20] "It took an effort to get the figures in the right depth," he declared. "The correctness of the distances of the figures in space is now so enormously important to me."[21] Even at a late stage, Beckmann expressed concern that the composition "is now falling apart a bit."[22] For the most part, later writers have agreed and cited the work as illustrating Beckmann's inability to unify fore-, middle, and background.[23] At the time the work was exhibited, some compared it to a theater or stage set.[24] While such descriptions have been understood largely as a critique, they in fact acknowledge the painting's dramatic content but also, more importantly, imply its compositional structure. The buildings'

Fig. 4/4. Messina's destroyed harbor and the city from the sea. *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, January 17, 1909. Landesarchiv Berlin.

Fig. 4/5. Gino de Finetti (Italian; 1877–1955). *Messina*, 1909. Cover of *Berliner Illustrirte Zeitung*, January 10, 1909. Landesarchiv Berlin.

flatness most likely reflects information conveyed numerous times in written reports from rescue-ship personnel struck by the fact that, while buildings appeared to be standing, only their facades had survived.[25] If Beckmann's buildings appear to be propped up behind his protagonists, this may be precisely because they are intended to invoke a city in ruins, its structures reduced by the quake to a Potemkin village. A sense of depth is introduced by the placement of the scene at the crossing of two streets that recede sharply to the left and right. *Messina*'s expressive composition received its proper due from the critic Karl Scheffler, who praised the painting's organization of space (*Raumgliederung*) beneath vehement brushstrokes.[26]

Regardless of his struggles with the painting, Beckmann was pleased with the result and believed it to be a watershed moment in the evolution of his art. He wrote to a friend, "I have produced a great many paintings, *Deluge*, *Resurrection* and fourteen days ago I finished a third large picture *Scene from the Destruction of Messina*. I don't care what people say about it. I know my way now."[27] Such confident claims not withstanding, Beckmann returned to the canvas at least once more before he finally considered it finished.[28]

Like *Shipwreck* (cat. 2), when *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* debuted at the 1909 Secession exhibition, it was for sale.[29] And yet, along with *Sinking of the Titanic* (cat. 7), it remained with the Cassirer gallery until 1915 and then went to Minna Beckmann-Tube. Upon leaving Berlin in 1945, Beckmann-Tube removed her former husband's large, prewar paintings from their stretchers. They were rolled up and stored in the basement of the house in Hermsdorf, where *Messina* (along with other works) suffered some water damage.[30] In 1956 the Beckmanns' son, Peter, sold both paintings to Morton D. May.[31]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 66–67.

Opposite: Fig. 4/3. Max Beckmann, *Scene from the Destruction of Messina*. Detail showing the head of the man in the lower center.

Cat. 5

Portrait of Mink with Violet Shawl

1910
Oil on canvas; 53¾ x 39⁹⁄₁₆ in. (136.5 x 100.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 838:1983

The artist's first wife, Minna Beckmann-Tube (1881–1964), or "Mink," as she was often called, sat for this portrait at the age of twenty-nine. Tube met Beckmann in early 1903 while both were students at the Großherzoglich-Sächsische Kunstschule in Weimar.[1] She was among the first eighteen female students admitted into the previously all-male art program.[2] The two married in 1906 and, at her husband's request, Beckmann-Tube stopped painting. Instead, several years later, she began to pursue a career as an opera singer. Their only child, Peter, was born in 1908 (see fig. 5/1).

Beckmann-Tube is said not to have liked modeling for her husband; yet this portrait is one of eight oils Beckmann painted of her within a five-year period.[3] She is the subject of countless sketches as well, including a drawing of her sewing that Morton D. May presented to the Saint Louis Art Museum (fig. 5/2). In *Portrait of Mink with Violet Shawl,* Beckmann-Tube appears neither as artist, wife, nor mother. Her hair is parted in the center and pulled back; she looks somewhat nervously to her right, and the little finger of her left hand is crooked at an awkward angle. In its present state, the seated figure appears almost perfectly centered in the composition. However, the canvas was originally approximately six inches taller.[4] The additional background above the sitter's head would have underscored the slightly anxious character of her pose and expression, making her appear smaller and somewhat overwhelmed by her bare surroundings. In fact, the attention paid here to color and the thick paint application, typical of Beckmann's work of this period, may have been the artist's very aim in undertaking this canvas. As Charles Haxthausen noted, it is "the sheer physicality of paint" that dominates.[5]

According to Beckmann-Tube, the color of an "old shawl" inspired her husband to execute this portrait.[6] While the color gray at first glance may seem to dominate the figure's surround, the violet hue of the shawl is present, along with green, blue, and red, throughout the work's surface. According to his picture list, Beckmann began work on the painting in late 1909 and finished it in early 1910.[7] The portrait has long been considered unsigned, but a fragment of the canvas attached to the verso

Fig. 5/1. Minna Beckmann-Tube and Peter Beckmann, c. 1908/9. Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

Fig. 5/2. Max Beckmann. *Study of a Woman Sewing*, 1908. Graphite on paper; 21.4 x 14 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Morton D. May, 512:1955.

proves otherwise. The four-and-one-quarter inch-long piece of canvas, from the painting's upper-right corner, was retained when the canvas was cut down.[8] The artist signed it *HBSL* ("Herr Beckmann seiner Liebsten" [Mr. Beckmann's beloved]), a dedication to Beckmann-Tube. This acronym—or, alternately, *MBSL* ("Max Beckmann seiner Liebsten")—appears on the majority of the artist's paintings from 1905 until 1913 (see for example cats. 2–4).

Beckmann sold *Portrait of Mink with Violet Shawl* to the wealthy Hamburg collector Henry B. Simms (1861–1922), one of the artist's most dedicated patrons at the time.[9] According to an income list that the artist maintained along with his picture list, Simms purchased the canvas in mid-February 1913, while Beckmann was in Hamburg working on his first commissioned group portrait, a family picture of the Simmses (fig. 5/3).[10] Simms eventually owned fifteen paintings by the artist.[11] Four were portraits of Beckmann-Tube, whom the Simms family had heard perform in concert.[12] Beckmann would later rank the works in Simms's collection "with one or two exceptions, among my best prewar pictures."[13]

Following Simms's death in 1922, the canvas remained in the possession of his wife, Gertrud (1873–1936).[14] The painting was absent from a large auction of the Simms collection held in Berlin by Paul Cassirer in 1930.[15] Sometime after 1936, the portrait and a landscape also by Beckmann became the property of Paul I. and Irma Heymann (née Mathias), neighbors of the Simmses in the Heilwegstraße, who displayed the works in their music room.[16] The Jewish owner of a shoe-leather

tannery, Heymann (1887–1962) and his wife (1897–1982) left for Angola in 1939; their art collection, including the two Beckmann paintings, went with them.[17] With the help of relatives, the Heymanns eventually immigrated to the United States.[18] On the occasion of the Beckmann retrospective at the City Art Museum in St. Louis in 1948, Irma Heymann contacted the artist, offering her works for inclusion in the exhibition or for sale, neither of which happened.[19] After reading about Morton D. May and his collection in the *New York Times*, the Heymanns offered to sell him the paintings in 1959.[20] May purchased both the following year.[21]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 67–68.

Fig. 5/3. Max Beckmann. *Simms Family Portrait*, 1913. Oil on canvas; dimensions unknown. Göpel 164. Location unknown. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

Cat. 6

The Prisoners

1910
Oil on canvas; 35 9/16 x 38 1/2 in. (90.3 x 97.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 839:1983

The Prisoners is the first of many works by Beckmann to focus on the theme of capture.[1] Here seven men—some naked, others partly clothed—are tightly arranged in a half-circle around a female nude. Two additional figures appear in the darkened background. The woman lies on a white cloth, her eyes closed and her arms bound behind her. While the man squatting next to her may be releasing her from her bonds, he could just as likely be tying her up. Whether she is alive or dead is not clear. But the desperation and defeat suggested by the men, many of whom are also bound, imply that she is being mourned. The scene's narrative ambiguity is overshadowed by the sheer physicality of the figures. The man kneeling directly above the prostrate female juts out his chest and chin in an apparent attempt to free himself from his restraints. Beckmann's figures may struggle against imprisonment, but they ultimately express despair.

The Prisoners involved extensive preparation. The nine figures in an initial sketch (fig. 6/1), executed in brown ink, exhibit slight variations from their counterparts in the final painting. In the drawing, an upright, fully clothed male features prominently, and a second female nude stands at the left. Beckmann, as was his practice, first worked out the composition in broad terms and then, in the studio, instructed his models to adapt pose after pose while he made meticulous studies. Three extant drawings show individual figures. In one, dated May 9, 1910, a female nude, lying on her side with her head facing the viewer and her hair spread around her (fig. 6/2), is almost identical to the recumbent woman in the painting. The following day, the artist did two more pencil sketches. One (fig. 6/3) depicts the seated figure seen at the

Fig. 6/1. Max Beckmann. *Selling of the Prisoners*, 1910. Brown ink on paper; 10.8 x 12.5 cm. The Robert Gore Rifkind Center for German Expressionist Studies, purchased with funds provided by the Ducommun and Gross Acquisition Fund, and the Twentieth Century Art Acquisition Fund (AC1992.237.6), Los Angeles County Museum of Art.

Fig. 6/2. Max Beckmann. *Recumbent Female Nude*, 1910. Black chalk on paper; 19.2 x 26.8 cm. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart, Graphische Sammlung, Inv. Nr.: C 1965/1402.

Left: Fig. 6/3. Max Beckmann. *Captive*, c. 1910. Graphite on paper; 27.5 x 19.3 cm. Kunsthalle Bremen, Inv. Nr. 1911/169.

Right: Fig. 6/4. Max Beckmann. *Sketch of a Man with His Arms Crossed behind His Back*, 1910. Graphite on paper; 27.5 x 19.3 cm. Private collection.

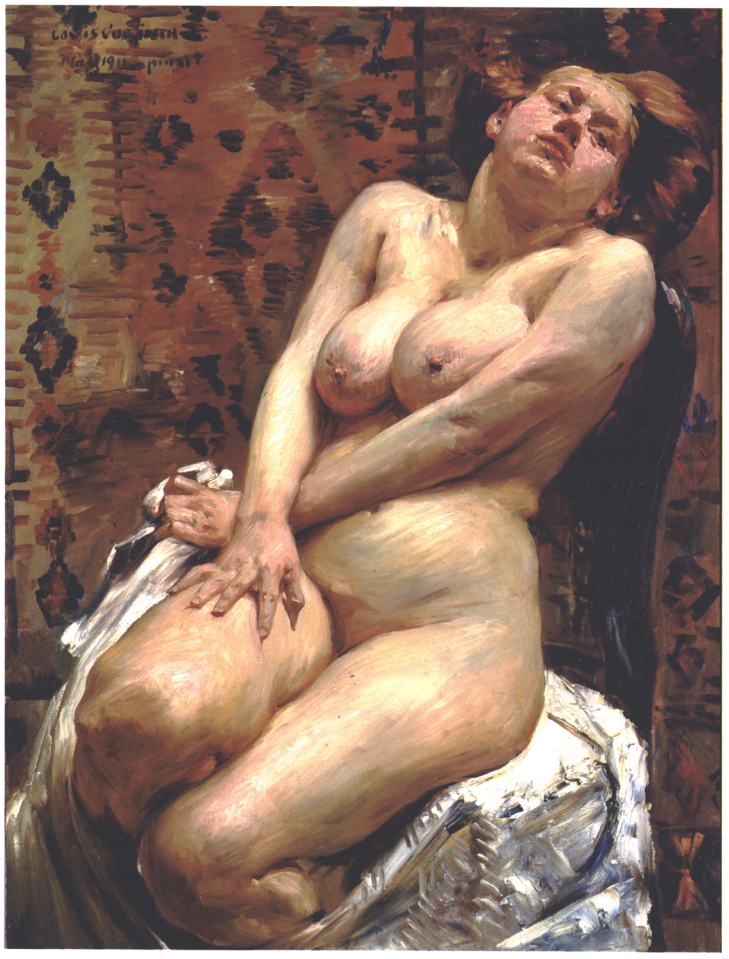


Fig. 6/5. Lovis Corinth (German; 1858–1925). *Nana, Female Nude*, 1911. Oil on canvas; 121.3 x 90.8 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Morton D. May, 879:1983.

left of the canvas; the man in the drawing supports an arm with one hand and covers his face with the other. The second sheet shows a male whose forearms are crossed behind his back (fig. 6/4).[2]

Beckmann and Lovis Corinth, a driving force behind the Berlin Secession, were often disparaged for overdependence on the model (see the introduction to this chapter). Dubbed the "flesh painter" (*Fleischmaler*), Corinth had a penchant for depicting nudes and was highly praised for his rendering of flesh tones.[3] The title of Corinth's *Nana, Female Nude* (fig. 6/5) may have originated in Émile Zola's 1880 novel *Nana*, but the overwhelming physicality of the painted female eclipses any literary reference.[4] Corinth's modulation of color imbues his figure with energy, her taut body exuding sexuality. If, for critics, Corinth's practice all too readily revealed the artifice of painting, Beckmann, they decided, could not help himself. The central female in Beckmann's *The Prisoners*, in contrast, lies inert on the cloth spread beneath her weighty form. Thick brushstrokes in a wide variety of unmixed colors—skin tones consisting of pinks, blues, and browns (see fig. 6/6)—are juxtaposed rather than blended on the canvas, unlike those of Corinth, which seem to coalesce into flesh. Resting separately on the thick paint surface, Beckmann's staccato-like strokes lend his figures a sculptural quality. Wishing to draw attention to his central figure (and perhaps underscore gender difference, as he did elsewhere [see cat. 2]), Beckmann lightened his palette, as if to put her body under a spotlight.

As noted in the introduction to this chapter, Beckmann's contemporaries often had trouble identifying the ostensible subjects of his early canvases, and, to this day, it is unclear what literary, historical, or topical reference may have inspired *The Prisoners*.[5] Several details suggest the influence of nineteenth-century orientalism.[6] The woman directly behind the central group wears a bluish veil; in the upper left-hand corner stands a man possibly holding a spear; an outline above him at the upper left suggests the tasseled fringe of a tent. None of the extant drawings exhibits the painting's Near-Eastern touches, suggesting that they were added at a late stage. As in Corinth's *Nana*, the sought-after narrative here recedes—literally—into the background. Foregrounded instead is the young Beckmann's struggle to find his own, signature style.

Like *Three Women in a Studio* (cat. 3), *The Prisoners* was initially purchased by the homeopathic physician Hanns Rabe (1890–1985), Beckmann's distant relative and an early supporter of his work.[7] Galerie Gerd Rosen, Berlin, auctioned the painting in 1962, when it was acquired by Morton D. May.

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 68.

Opposite: Fig. 6/6. Max Beckmann. *The Prisoners* (cat. 6). Detail showing the figure at the lower left.

Cat. 7

Sinking of the Titanic

1912–13
Oil on canvas; 104¼ x 130 in. (264.8 x 330.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 840:1983

Late on the night of April 14, 1912, the *Titanic*, the world's largest luxury liner, collided on its maiden voyage with an iceberg off the coast of Newfoundland. It sunk just a few hours later, claiming over fifteen hundred lives. In Germany, as elsewhere, details of the tragedy were front-page news for weeks on end. Beckmann began work on his monumental *Sinking of the Titanic* that summer and, by the end of the year, considered it finished (although he would return to it).[1] In three extant sketchbook studies, the ocean liner fills the page, its smokestacks tipped at a severe angle, the iceberg looming behind it (figs. 7/1–3).[2] In the final canvas, an iceberg hovers in front of the *Titanic*, which is still horizontal in the distance, overshadowed by the plight of those crowded into lifeboats floating away from the ship. There are seven boats in all; at the lower left, one capsizes, while in the center an already overturned boat serves as a makeshift raft. As in *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* (cat. 4), Beckmann focused not on the initial disaster—a direction his sketches suggest he was considering—but rather on confrontations between survivors. Indeed, in a 1924 monograph on the artist, the painting was given the title *Rettungsboote* (Lifeboats), which obscured the historical reference altogether.[3] One of the first reports of the wreck from a rescue ship described the scene: "All the survivors made an uncanny impression due to their stoic, sedate silence, as if their pain could not be any greater, [as if] they could not withstand anything worse."[4] Beckmann's painting evokes a similar mood, even as some passengers struggle for their lives. Painted in a thick impasto of green and blue, the waves almost wholly subsume some of the figures. Particular passages of color—such as the pink and violet shades of an evening gown or the fiery orange glint of a woman's earring—shine in the darkness, tiny reminders of a glamorous crossing that ended in tragedy.

Beckmann's depiction coincides with reports of boats overloaded with women and children dressed in nightgowns and thin clothing. The focus of much of the international press was on the question of safety; as is now well known, the ship's lifeboats could only have accommodated one-third of the passengers. As the majority of those rescued were first- and second-class travelers, the press emphasized the role that wealth played in one's chances for survival. Reports also noted that the *Titanic* drifted miles away from the scene of the accident and that stranded victims were found far afield of the ship. Beckmann portrayed those who, according to witnesses, leapt into the ocean in order to clamber aboard the too-few lifeboats and who were either helped or hindered by other passengers. While he was in Hamburg to do a group portrait

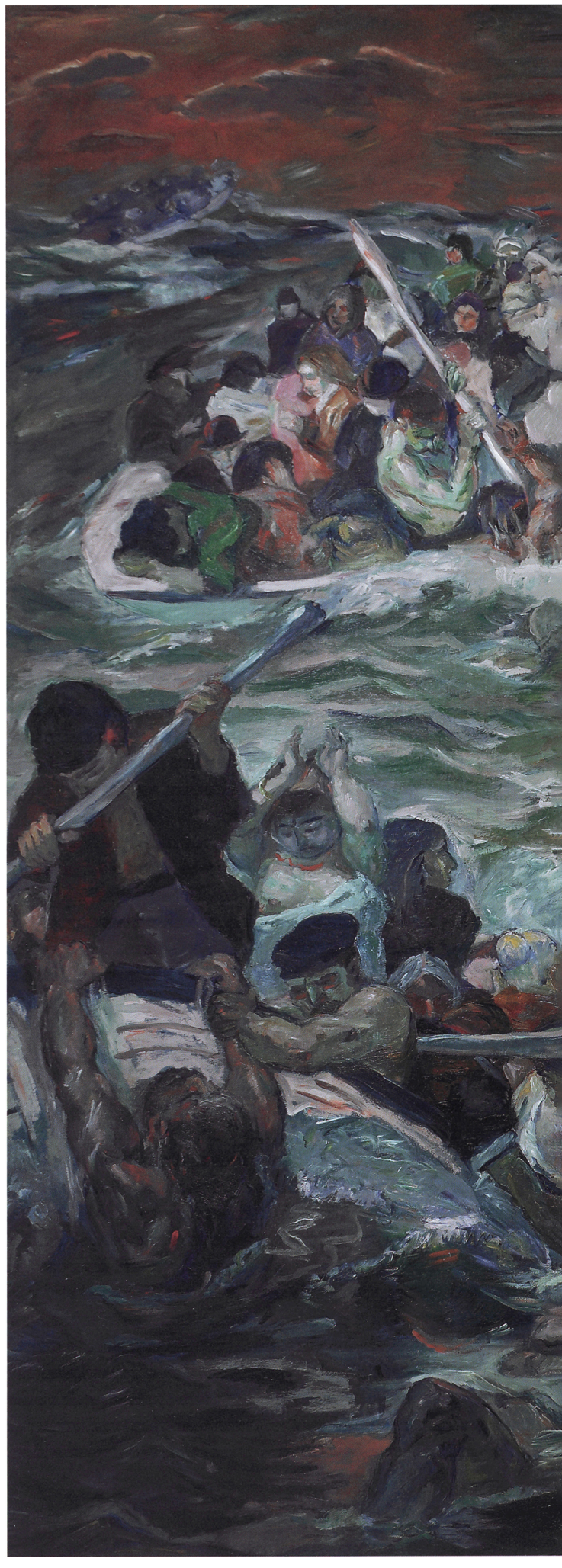


Fig. 7/1. Max Beckmann. *Study of a Ship with Dinghy*, c. 1912. Graphite on paper; 14.1 x 9.7 cm. Beckmann Sketchbook 3 (32r). Private collection.

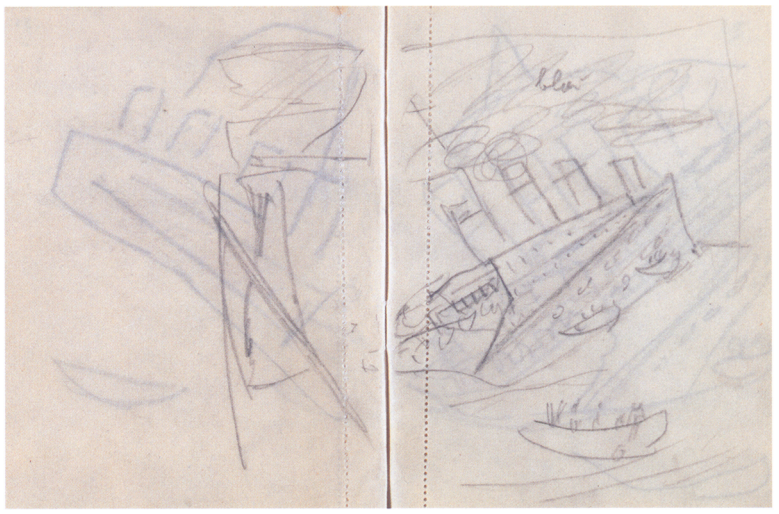


Fig. 7/2. Max Beckmann. *More Detailed, Framed Study of a Ship with Dinghy, with Color Specifications*, c. 1912. Graphite on paper; 14.1 x 9.7 cm. Beckmann Sketchbook 3 (32v–33r). Private collection.

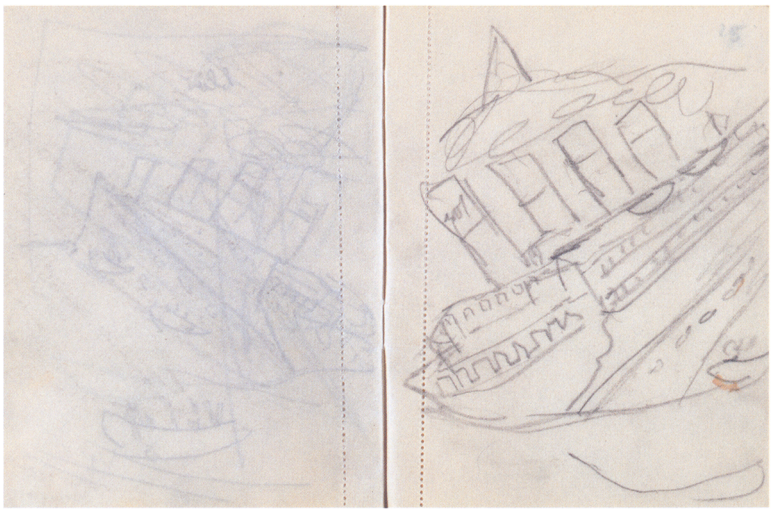


Fig. 7/3. Max Beckmann. *Detailed Study of a Ship, with Color Specifications*, c. 1912. Graphite on paper; 14.1 x 9.7 cm. Beckmann Sketchbook 3 (34r). Private collection.

of the Simms family (fig. 5/3), Beckmann did a number of studies of boats in the city's harbor, which may have served him in executing the present work (see figs. 7/6–7).[5] A number of detailed drawings from the model also aided in the preparation of the composition.[6] Two of women holding children (figs. 7/4–5) may have served, in combination, for two sets of figures in the boat at the far right.[7] The artist is also believed to have demonstrated his identification with the victims by portraying himself perched on the edge of that same boat with his back to the viewer, as well as his wife (with a child, thought by some to represent their son), who sits directly across from him.[8] The painting's size, decentralized composition, and high horizon line place the viewer as if part of the action as well.

In March 1913, Beckmann left Hamburg for Berlin, exhausted by his commission from the Simmses. "Ninety-one days spent on the group picture. That was a job," he declared. "No more painting for four weeks. Holiday!"[9] However, his diary entry for April 1 reveals that he had returned to the studio and was working once again on *Titanic*: "No holiday as yet, however. Worked like mad on the Titanic for another ten days."[10] In a studio photograph (fig. 17)—likely taken in 1912 when Beckmann first considered the painting to be completed—the upper-right section of the canvas (fig. 7/8) is markedly different from what it is in the final state.[11] Recent X-rays (see fig. 7/9) substantiate that the photograph documents an intermediary phase. Beckmann revised areas throughout

Fig. 7/4. Max Beckmann. *Seated Woman Holding a Child*, 1912. Graphite on paper; 32.6 x 22.8 cm. Collection Hegewisch at the Hamburger Kunsthalle.

Fig. 7/6. Max Beckmann. *Boat with Numerous People*, c. 1912. Graphite on paper; 12.2 x 17.8 cm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. 1951:55 Z.

Fig. 7/5. Max Beckmann. *Woman Holding a Child in Her Arms (and a Variation on the Child)*, c. 1912. Black chalk on paper; 23.9 x 26.2 cm. Private collection.

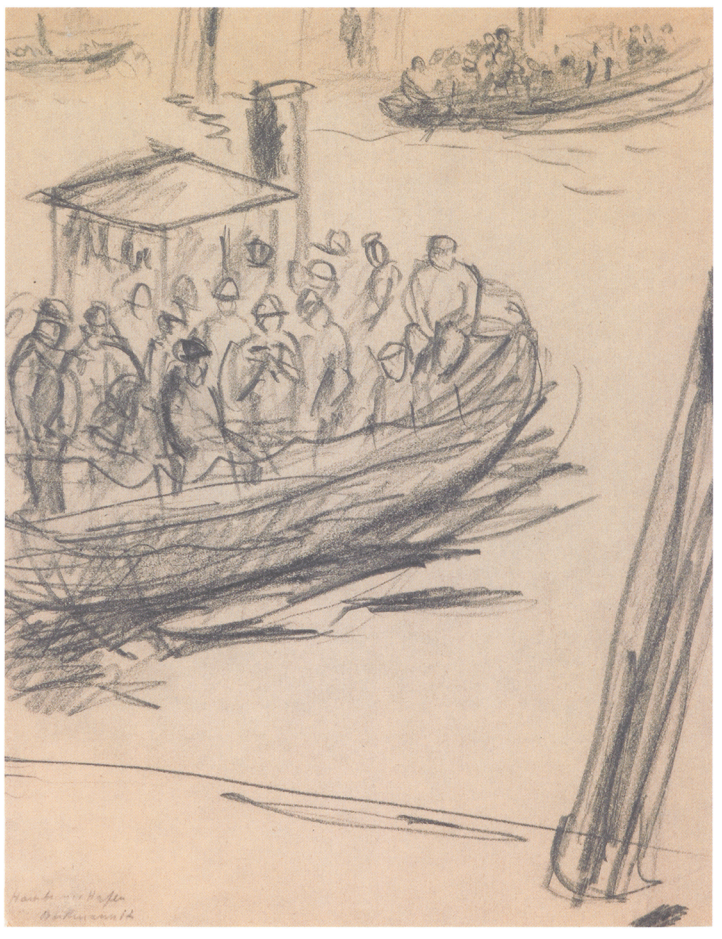


Fig. 7/7. Max Beckmann. *Hamburg Harbor*, 1912. Graphite on paper; 29.8 x 22.9 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of Morton D. May, 523:1955.

Fig. 7/8. Max Beckmann. *Sinking of the Titanic*. Detail showing the upper-right section.

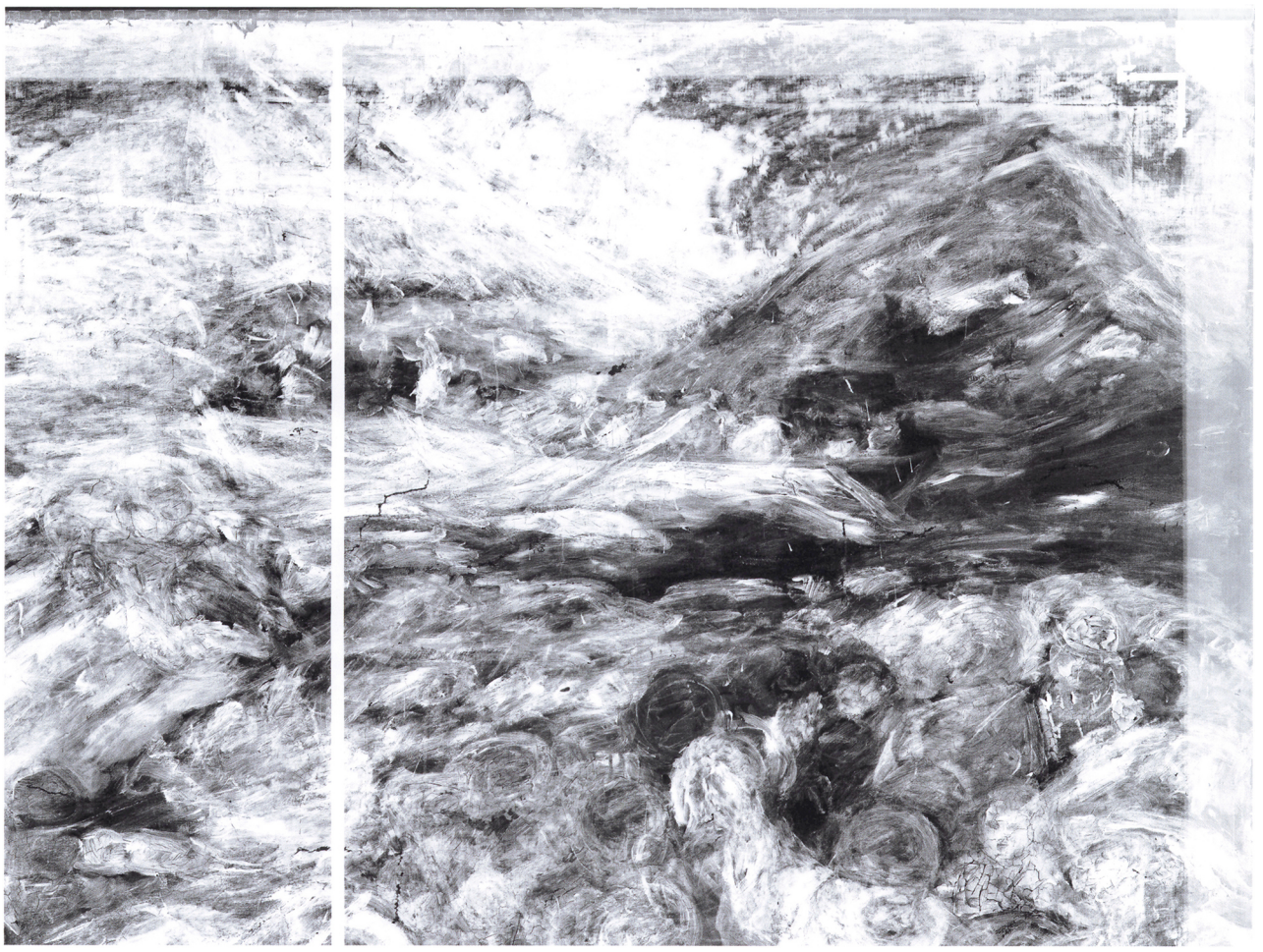


Fig. 7/9. Max Beckmann. *Sinking of the Titanic*. X-ray of the upper-right section.

the canvas, but he focused primarily on the upper right-hand corner. The X-rays reveal that the ocean liner initially resembled its appearance in the aforementioned sketches. Unlike these somewhat cartoonish studies, the ship in the final painting has a long, dark shape strikingly similar to the way the ship looks in a photograph featured in a special edition of *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger* (fig. 7/10) from April 1912, albeit in reverse. Lit from within, the painting's still-horizontal, sleek vessel offers a sharp contrast to the maelstrom of lifeboats, victims, and roiling waters. In making these changes from his initial sketches, Beckmann underscored the human plight and de-emphasized the *Titanic*'s fatal flaws or the larger issue concerning the inability of even the most advanced engineering to protect human beings from the forces of nature.

Shortly after the artist revisited the canvas in 1913, it made its long-awaited debut at the annual Secession exhibition alongside the recent portrait of the Simms family. Beckmann was pleased with *Sinking of the Titanic* and noted in a letter to Henry B. Simms that Paul Cassirer, who was in charge of the event that year, was as well.[12] But as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, they were among the few. Curt Glaser, for example, questioned that the painting could ever exert the lasting influence of another depiction of an actual disaster at sea, which also focuses on the human elements of the catastrophe: Théodore Géricault's dramatic *Raft of the Medusa* (1818–19; Musée du Louvre, Paris). In the critic's opinion, Beckmann's canvas lacked the pathos of the Romantic masterwork, a statement clearly prompted by artists' elevation of current events to the revered academic category of history painting, as well as the heroic character imparted to such scenes by the canvases' colossal size.[13] However damning, Glaser's comparison has persevered, and more recent scholars have cited—although not always negatively—other nineteenth-century French precedents as sources of inspiration: Delacroix's 1822 *Barque of Dante* and 1840 *Shipwreck of Don Juan* (both, Musée du Louvre, Paris), and Édouard Manet's *Escape of Rochefort* (1880–81; Kunsthaus Zürich).[14] Beckmann's figures—clambering up the sides of overfilled lifeboats—are compelling quotations from these forerunners.

Mittwoch 17. April 1912

Tägliche Sonder-Beilage des Berliner Lokal-Anzeigers

Bilder vom Tage

Zur furchtbaren Katastrophe des Riesendampfers „Titanic": Das Schiff und einige seiner namhaftesten Passagiere.

Fig. 7/10. "Bilder vom Tage" (Pictures of the Day), *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, April 17, 1912. Stadtarchiv Hannover.

Along with many early works in the possession of Minna Beckmann-Tube, *Sinking of the Titanic* was stored in the artist's former home in Hermsdorf (Berlin) throughout World War II.[15] After Beckmann-Tube relocated to Gauting, outside Munich, the early paintings were transferred there.[16] Peter Beckmann sold *Titanic* on behalf of his mother and himself, together with *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* (cat. 4), to Morton D. May in 1956.[17]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 68–69.

Documentation and Notes

Cats. 1–7

Cat. 1
Gray Day at the Sea, 1907

Oil on canvas; 29⅛ x 36⅜ in. (74 x 92.4 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 834:1983
Not signed or dated

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Grauer Strand* (Gray Beach), *Grauer Tag* (Gray Day), *Seestück* (*Seascape*), *Stormy Day*, *Stormy Day at Sea*, *Stormy Day on Sea*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave, commercially preprimed linen. Original tacking edges removed. In 1959 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Commercial preparation. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Heavy paste vehicular consistency. Some high impasto. Small amounts of sand embedded in paint surface. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** In 1959 Vinylite AYAF varnish was applied. In 1994 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, by 1913, to Emil Schaeffer, Berlin; given, before 1922, to Olga Eisner (Schaeffer's ex-wife), Berlin, New York; sold, Mar. 29, 1959, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Sommer in Vitzkestrand b. Schlawe (Pommern) 07: 58) Grauer Tag am Meer Besitzer: Dr. Schaeffer*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Kaiser 1913, no. 55 (as *Grauer Tag* [Gray Day]), n.pag. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 56 (as *Grauer Strand* [Gray Beach]), p. 64. Göpel 1976, no. 80 (as *Grauer Tag am Meer* [Gray Day at the Sea], location unknown), vol. 1, pp. 77, 515, 554; no. 87 (as *Seestück* [Seascape], in the collection of Morton D. May), vol. 1, pp. 79–80, 515, 544, 554; vol. 2, p. 40 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Güse 1977, pp. 36, 83, 96 (fig. 18). Schubert 1997, pp. 92 (fig. 2), 94. Leipzig 2011–12, p. 315.

EXHIBITIONS: St. Louis 1960, cat. 40, n.pag, ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 46, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 44, n.pag. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 2, pp. 7, 38 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1986–87 (not in cat.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 2, pp. 13, 52, 53 (color ill.), 138, 229. Hamburg 2005, cat. 50, pp. 95 (color ill.), 139–40.

NOTES
1. Beckmann's picture list refers to "Anfang Sommer Berlin Marienfelde 1907" and then "Sommer in Vitzkestrand [*sic*] b. Schlawe." Thus the trip to the small Pomeranian fishing village likely took place in late summer. In June of that year, Beckmann planned to go alone to the North Sea, but in the end his friend the painter Caesar Kunwald accompanied him. MB to Caesar Kunwald, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, June 9, 1907, no. 36, p. 55.
2. The Nationalgalerie, Berlin, purchased Courbet's *The Wave* (1869/70) in 1906. The painting also features a wild sea with an approaching wave and high horizon line. See *Courbet und Deutschland* (Cologne: DuMont, 1978), esp. pp. 291–304, ill. p. 302.
3. Güse 1977, p. 36. For Ernst-Gerhardt Güse, Beckmann's early interest in fight scenes, as well as in the sea, was closely tied to the artist's attraction to Nietzschean vitalism, the notion that destruction is inherent in life's constant state of renewal. Ibid., esp. p. 30.
4. In the 1880s and 1890s, the Weimar art academy was one of the first in Germany to champion impressionism and plein-air painting. Buenger 1983, p. 136.
5. MB to Caesar Kunwald, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Aug. 4, 1905, no. 18, p. 37. ". . . so viel Talent daß ich ihm noch jetzt am Meer hier oft meine Verbeugung mache." For more on Beckmann and the European seascape tradition, see Ortrud Westheider, "Max Beckmanns Meereslandschaften und die Tradition der Moderne," in Hamburg 2003–4, pp. 24–30.
6. *In the Shifting Dunes* (1907; Göpel 81), which appears directly after SLAM's painting in the artist's picture list, may be the canvas on which the artist is seen at work in the photograph.
7. Robert Proctor, technical record, July 28, 1994, departmental files, SLAM. The 1959 technical record by conservator James Roth notes that there was no surface coating on the painting. In 1994 Proctor challenged this, observing "translucent yellow material, seen under magnification, in some of the troughs of impasto." While these findings are inconclusive, it is possible that Beckmann decided not to varnish such a small plein-air picture, demonstrating that his approach to such works was not the same as that for large, salon-style canvases or for portraits.
8. Hamburg 2003–4, p. 16.
9. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 14, p. 63. May's accession record calls it *Stormy Day at Sea*. May Archives, SLAM. While May noted, based on dimensions listed in Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, that it was unlikely that his painting was Beckmann's *Stürmischer Tag am Meer* (1905; Göpel 30, as *Stürmischer Tag*), he retained the Reifenberg/Hausenstein title, perhaps because it is the one Eisner initially used in her letter to him (Apr. 21, 1958, May Archives, SLAM). See for example New York/St. Louis 1970, p. 7, which refers to SLAM's painting in English as *Stormy Day at Sea* and in German as *Grauer Tag am Meer* (Gray Day at the Sea). Based on May's dating of the work to c. 1905, this catalogue states that the painting was executed at Hermsdorf (Berlin) and equates it, erroneously, with Kaiser 1913, no. 13. It is likely Kaiser 1913, no. 55. When the work entered SLAM's collection, it was called *Seascape* and dated to c. 1907. Accession record, departmental files, SLAM.
10. Martin Fass dated the canvas definitively to 1907 in Hamburg 2005, pp. 139–40.
11. MQB to MDM, July 21, 1959, May Archives, SLAM. This was also the identification Quappi Beckmann made in her first letter to May regarding the painting, Feb. 18, 1958, May Archives, SLAM. She later suggested two earlier 1905 paintings, one of which turned out to be *Stormy Day* (*Stürmischer Tag*) (Göpel 30). The current location of the other, *Sea in Storm* (*Meer im Sturm*) (Göpel 38), which appears in Beckmann's list as belonging to his wife, is unknown, but Beckmann listed it in parentheses as "brown sea." This description does not match SLAM's painting, which is overwhelmingly blue and white. MQB to MDM, Mar. 5, 1960, May Archives, SLAM. See also Göpel 1976, no. 87, vol. 1, pp. 79–80.
12. Olga Eisner to Barbara Göpel, Apr. 27, 1970, Erhard Göpel† and Barbara Göpel, Munich. Beckmann-Tube (see cat. 5) began to take voice lessons in 1906. MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, p. 396, n. 8.
13. Olga Eisner to MDM, Apr. 21, 1958, May Archives, SLAM. Kaiser 1913 also lists Schaeffer as the owner of the following Beckmann paintings: Göpel 4, 36, and 44. See also Göpel 1976, no. 55, vol. 1, pp. 65–66.
14. Berlin phone books of the period list Emil Schaeffer for the last time in 1921. According to Eisner, Schaeffer relocated first to Lugano, Switzerland, and then to Hungary. Eisner to Barbara Göpel, May 21, 1970, Erhard Göpel† and Barbara Göpel, Munich. Schaeffer was killed by the Nazis, and the other Beckmann works in his possession were destroyed. MQB to MDM, Feb. 18, 1958, May Archives, SLAM. As of 1924, the phone books list Eisner's second husband, the concert pianist Bruno Eisner, at the Berlin address she had shared with Schaeffer. For more on Eisner, see *Lexikon verfolgter Musiker und Musikerinnen der NS-Zeit*, eds. Claudia Maurer Zenck and Peter Petersen, http://www.lexm.unihamburg.de. Accessed July 25, 2010. An earlier source spells Eisner's maiden name as Manksch and dates her birth to 1892. See *The International Who Is Who in Music* (Chicago: 1951), p. 26.
15. See MQB to MDM, Feb. 18, 1958, and July 21, 1959, May Archives, SLAM. Beckmann might well have been willing to sign a work forty-seven years after its completion. Another painting of the same year, *In the Shifting Dunes* (see note 6), is said to have been signed on the verso by the artist at a later date. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 77.
16. Kaiser 1913, no. 55, n.pag.
17. Benno Reifenberg and Wilhelm Hausenstein apparently relied on the measurements listed in Kaiser 1913, but changed the painting's title slightly, from *Grauer Tag* (Gray Day) to *Grauer Strand* (Gray Beach). It is also listed as owned by "Dr. Schaeffer, Berlin." Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 56, p. 64.

Cat. 2
Shipwreck, 1908

Oil on canvas; 31⅝ x 27⅝ in. (80.3 x 70.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 836:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *MBSL / 08*

ALTERNATE TITLE: *Shipwrecked People on the Seashore*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas overlap, l.l., small circular black stamp: [illegible]; l.r., small circular black stamp: [illegible]
On stretcher, u.l., in graphite, slightly illegible: *Frame damaged / when taken off wall at R*[?] / *929*[?]; u.l., in blue crayon: 284 [encircled]; u.c., in blue crayon: [illegible, possibly "Gk 6 6 St"]; u.c., on browned label, in black ink: *Eigentum / Dr. med. K. Specht* [obscured by tape]; u.r., on masking tape in blue crayon: *K 14*; u.r., on browned label, [printed:] *No.* [brown ink:] *2399 / Beckmann / Schiffbruch*; u.r., in red crayon: *K25*; c.l., in blue crayon: *37*; c.l., in red crayon: *K25*; c.l., black stamp: *80*; c.l., in graphite: *45* [or "95"]; c.l., black stamp: *W. & J. Amler / Clara Schreiner* [faded and illegible]; c.r., in blue crayon: *107616*[illegible]; c.r., black stamp: *80*; l.l., in graphite: *Schiffbruch*; l.l., in blue crayon: *44*;

l.c., on yellowed label, printed: *JAMES BOURLET & SONS, Ltd. / Fine Art Packers, Frame Makers. / 82246 / 17 & 18, NASSAU STREET, / MORTIMER STREET, W.1. / 'Phone MUSEUM 1871. / LB*; l.c., black stamp: [partially obscured by label] *7*[?] *0*; l.c., in black crayon: *10541*; l.c., black stamp: *W. & J. Amler / Clara Schreiner NA. / Charlottenburg, Steinplatz 2* / [faded and illegible] [upside down]; l.r., small circular black stamp: [illegible]; l.r., in blue crayon: *44*; l.c., in black crayon: # [obscured by two labels]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave, commercially preprimed linen. Unlined. Original stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Commercial preparation. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Low impasto. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** In 1991 natural varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold May 6, 1914, to Paul Cassirer, Berlin; sold, July 19, 1917, to Emil Waldmann, Bremen; by 1917, to Kurt Specht, Bremen; by descent, 1946, to his wife, Antonia Specht, Bremen; sold, Dec. 4, 1953, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Sommer 1908 Hermsdorf: 71) Schiffbruch—Cassirer (jetzt in Bremen)*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Kaiser 1913, no. 72. n.pag. (ill.). Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 76, p. 65. Göpel 1976, no. 96, vol. 1, pp. 84, 515, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 43 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Glaser et al. 1924, p. 75. Scheidig 1961, p. 84. Gäßler 1974, pp. 1, 121, 127–31, 133–34, 136, 308, fig. 164 (not ill.). Güse 1977, pp. 36, 83, 96 (fig. 19). New York 1996–97, p. 128. Schubert 1997, pp. 94, 96 (ill.), 97. Cologne 2005, pp. 54 (color ill.), 55–56.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1909, cat. 10, p. 16. Bremen 1910, cat. 14, p. 8. Weimar 1912, cat. 13, n.pag. Berlin 1913a, cat. 36, n.pag. Mannheim 1913, cat. 13, p. 7. Stockholm 1916.[11] Zurich 1917, cat. 1, p. 31, ill. Bremen 1918, cat. 1, p. 4. London 1925, cat. 284, p. 52. Bremen 1933 (no cat.). Bremen 1953–54 (not in cat.).[12] St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 41, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 47, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 45, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 1, p. 5. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 1, pp. 5, 29 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 1, pp. 5, 29 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 1, pp. 5, 29 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 1, pp. 5, 29 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 1, pp. 5, 29 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 1, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 4, pp. 7–8, 40 (color ill.). Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, cat. 38, pp. 44, 88 (fig. 39). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 3, pp. 54, 55 (color ill.), 75, 229.

NOTES

1. See Bielefeld 1968, p. 5; Gäßler 1974, p. 127 (citing Bielefeld 1968); Schubert 1997, p. 96. May also noted this in his accession record, May Archives, SLAM.
2. For more on the shipwreck motif in German painting, see Hamburg 2005, esp. pp. 36–47.
3. Paul Gebhardt, *Frankfurter Zeitung*, June 2, 1913, cited in Hille 1994, p. 223. "Freie, impressionistische Technik. . . . Es ist Impression, aber nicht bloß eine Impression der Natur, sondern eine stoffliche, Natursymbol, wenn man will, und in seiner Allgemeinheit ergreifend, menschlich ergreifend."
4. See Gäßler 1974, p. 131.
5. Kaiser 1913, p. 29.
6. Curt Glaser, "Von Ausstellungen," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte für freie und angewandte Kunst* 21 (1910), pp. 309–10. "Max Beckmann gebärdet sich noch immer wilder, als er wohl in Wahrheit ist. Man fragt sich immer wieder, ob die Recht haben, die ihn einen verkappten Akademiker nennen und hinter dem scheinbaren Sturm und Drang die Furcht vor der Schablone vermuten."
7. MBT, cited in "Interview des Monats: Leben an der Seite eines Genies," *Der Regenbogen* 9 (1962), p. 5. In this interview, Minna Beckmann-Tube recalled that Beckmann sold the painting immediately for one thousand marks, a memory that contradicts the sale records (see note 8).
8. Cassirer's book of purchases lists the following: "Einkauf: Schiffbruch Nr. 2399 von Max Beckmann, Berlin, am 6.5.1914, für M.1200. Verkauf: Schiffbruch Nr. 2399 an Dr. Emil Waldmann, Bremen, am 19.7.1917 für M.1800." Cassirer-Feilchenfeldt Archiv, Zurich. Walter Feilchenfeldt, e-mail to author, Nov. 2010. See also Weimar 1912; Scheidig 1961, p. 84. The price listed in 1912 was 2,100 marks. Beckmann's income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin) confirms the sale, noting its purchase by Cassirer (along with two other works) on May 6, 1914, for 1,200 marks.
9. Emil Waldmann. "Bremer Privatsammlungen," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 17 (1919), p. 176. ". . . sehen Dr. Spechts wartende Patienten wohin die Fahrt geht und dass mit Beckmann ein neuer Stilwille am Werk ist."
10. For mention of Specht's ownership, see for example Zurich 1917, p. 31. Based on the title (*Schiffbruch*), Ursula Harter and Stephan von Wiese suggested that SLAM's painting is identical with a work mentioned as changing hands in correspondence between two of Beckmann's dealers, J. B. Neumann and Alfred Flechtheim, in 1932. Harter/Wiese 2011, pp. 231–32. In a 1932 letter to Neumann, Flechtheim noted that the work in question was in Frankfurt. Flechtheim to Neumann, Feb. 14, 1932, J. B. Neumann Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C. This contradicts the documentation (note 8) that, at least since 1917, SLAM's painting had been in private hands in Bremen. Neumann then lent a work of an unidentified medium, entitled *Schiffbruch*, to the exhibition "Entering the Twentieth Century: Oils, Watercolors, Drawings" organized by the College Art Association in Springfield, Mass., in October 1932 (cat. 5, p. 4). No date, medium, or other identifying feature for the work is mentioned in any correspondence or in the exhibition catalogue. In November 1932, the exhibition traveled to the Germanic Museum at Harvard University. Writing to May about the painting, Antonia Specht did not mention either 1932 exhibition. Specht to MDM, Nov. 30, 1963, May Archives, SLAM. The work discussed by Harter and Wiese is likely identical with the one that traveled to the U.S. for exhibition, but is perhaps another, as yet unidentified, composition with the same title. Without further documentation, the 1932 Springfield/Cambridge exhibition cannot be included in *Shipwreck*'s exhibition history.
11. According to Specht, in her letter to May (note 10), the painting was "loaned to an exhibit of representative German art in Stockholm during the first World War." Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 84, stated that this claim, repeated (with a question mark) in Bielefeld 1968 (p. 5), cannot be documented.
12. Specht also mentioned in her letter to May (note 10) that the painting was exhibited in Bremen 1953–54.

Cat. 3
Three Women in the Studio, 1908

Oil on canvas; 43⅝ x 47⅞ in. (110.8 x 121.6 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 835:1983
Signed and dated, u.r.: *HBSL / 08*

ALTERNATE TITLE: *Atelierszene* (Studio Scene)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On cardboard stapled to stretcher, c.c., discolored, partial label, printed: *306*; c.c., discolored label, in black ink: *Beckmann 12301 / Atelierszene*; c.c., discolored label, in black ink: *Beckmann 9666 / Atelierszene*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1962 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-rich vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Low-to-moderate impasto. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** In 1962 heavy natural varnish was removed and Lucite 44 varnish applied. In 1993 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing varnish.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Herbst u. Winter 1908 Hermsdorf: 77) Drei Frauen im Atelier Besitzer: Hanns Rabe*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Kaiser 1913, no. 77, n.pag. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 81, p. 65. Göpel 1976, no. 101, vol. 1, pp. 86–87, 515, 540, 554; vol. 2, p. 46 (ill.).

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, October 1911, to Hanns Rabe, Berlin; by descent, before 1962, to his wife, Berlin; sold at auction, Galerie Gerd Rosen, Berlin, May 8, 1962, lot 967, pp. 141 (ill.), 142, to Morton D. May; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

LITERATURE: Glaser et al. 1924, p. 75. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 12, 1909, p. 26, fig. 12. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 446. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, Jan. 7, 1913, pp. 112, 150, n. 21.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1910, cat. 2. Darmstadt 1910, cat. 12, p. 17, n.pag., ill. Berlin 1913a, cat. 43, n.pag. Mannheim 1928, cat. 11, p. 11. Munich 1952, cat. 10, n.pag. Braunschweig 1953, cat. 16, n.pag.; Bremen 1953–54, cat. 16, n.pag. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 97, addendum (typed insert). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 2, p. 5. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 3, pp. 7, 39 (ill.). London et al. 1974–75, cat. 3, pp. 8, 40 (ill.). Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, cat. 42, pp. 44, 93 (fig. 44 [color]). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 5, pp. 58, 59 (color ill.), 229.

RELATED WORKS: Fig. 3/2

NOTES

1. In contrast to his later output, studio scenes are rare in Beckmann's early work. Examples include Göpel 102, 107, 157.
2. See remarks by Eve Meid (née Spick), a friend of the Beckmanns from Weimar, cited in MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, p. 44, n. 2.
3. On Beckmann and his early reception, see Gäßler 1974; Engels 1997; Hamlin 2007.
4. Beckmann-Tube recalled how the nude models used to shiver in the large studio despite its two tiled stoves (*Kachelöfen*). In 1908 the Beckmanns installed coal ovens (*Koksöfen*). MBT, "Erinnerungen," in MB, *Frühe*

Tagebücher 1985, p. 175. Subsequently, in order to avoid the cold, the family wintered in an apartment with a studio at Nollendorfplatz 6, Berlin. MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, p. 416, n. 48. See also ibid., p. 185, n. 66.
5. See for example Anna Plehn, "Berliner Sezession," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 12 (1908), p. 771.
6. *Models* was one of the first post-impressionist paintings in German private hands. Teeuwisse 1986, p. 229. A major proponent of neoimpressionism in Germany, Count Harry Kessler purchased the painting in 1898 and was in contact with Beckmann by 1906. A photograph from about 1905 shows Kessler's idiosyncratic display in his Weimar dining room of one-third of the canvas in a frame designed by Henry van de Velde. Gloria Groom, *Édouard Vuillard: Painter-Decorator. Patrons and Projects, 1892–1912* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), p. 141. For a concise account of the relationship between Kessler and Beckmann, see Leipzig 2011–12, pp. 278–79. See also Zeiller 2003, pp. 148ff.
7. According to Mayen Beckmann, in an e-mail to the author, Sept. 26, 2012, the "XII" to the left of the title does not suggest that Beckmann made a numbered series of studies for the painting.
8. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 12, 1909, p. 26.
9. In his income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin), Beckmann noted the sale of the painting to Rabe in October 1911 for 1,200 marks ("Atelierszene Okt. An H. Rabe 1200").

Cat. 4
Scene from the Destruction of Messina, 1909

Oil on canvas; 100¼ x 105⅜ in. (254.6 x 267.7 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 837:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *HBSL 09*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Ausbruch aus den Gefängnissen von Messina* (Escape from the Prisons of Messina), *The Destruction of Messina*, *Erdbeben von Messina* (The Earthquake of Messina)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas overlap, u.l., in red crayon: *GER* [upside down]
On stretcher: u.c.: in graphite: *4*[?]; u.c., black stamp: *267* [likely, stretcher size in cm]; c.l., in blue crayon: *Fremde Habe Nr. 89 / 2*; c.c., l.c., two identical black stamps: *267*; c.c., c.r., two identical black stamps: *254*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. May have been restretched. A strip of linen covers about thirty inches of the painting's verso, attached with a brown, resinous adhesive. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-rich vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Low-to-moderate impasto. In 1993 previous in-painting of paint loss at upper edge was removed and redone. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** In 1993 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing varnish.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Minna Beckmann-Tube and Peter Beckmann, Hermsdorf (Berlin), Gauting (near Munich); sold, May 28, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1909 Winter u. Frühling Hermsdorf: 79) Szene aus d. Untergang Messinas—Minna Tube*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Kaiser 1913, no. 79, n.pag. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 83, pp. 15, 65. Göpel 1976, no. 106, vol. 1, pp. 89–90, 516, 543, 554; vol. 2, p. 48 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Glaser et al. 1924, p. 6. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, p. 17. Beckmann Peter 1955, p. 16. Myers 1957, pp. 296, 390. Fischer 1972, p. 22. Gäßler 1974, pp. 1, 14, 121, 134, 139–46, 149–50, fig. 177 (not ill.). London et al. 1974–75, p. 6 (fig. c). Lenz 1976, p. 50 (fig. 13). Güse 1977, pp. 7, 25, 29, 33–35, 83, 94 (fig. 15). Lackner 1977, pp. 11, 14 (fig. 9). Frankfurt 1981, p. xx. Lackner 1983, p. 8. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Dec. 31, 1908; 1909: Jan. 1–2, 17, 21, 24, 28–31, Mar. 2, Apr. 3–4; pp. 13–14, 29–40. Frankfurt 1983–84, pp. 43–44. Eberle 1984, pp. 12, 13 (fig. 1), 14, 16–18, 21–23 (ill.), 24, 31, 68 (fig. 1, det.). London 1985, p. 440 (fig. 1). MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, pp. 111, 150, n. 21. Haxthausen 1985, p. 6. Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, p. 11. Hille 1994, pp. 226–27. Spieler 1995, pp. 17, 20 (color ill.), 25, 196. Selz 1996, p. 16 (fig. 13). Düsseldorf 1997, pp. 15, 39. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 184. Munich 2002, p. 33. Paris et al. 2002–3, p. 73 (ill.). London/New York 2003, pp. 13, 24. Wieg 2005, pp. 22, 23 (ill., det.), 235, n. 38. Munich et al. 2007–8, pp. 36–37. Philadelphia 2009. p. 312. Schneede 2009, pp. 22, 23 (color ill.), 24, 25. Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. [7], 65, 87–90, 94, 252, [361] (fig. 5 [color]). Zeiller 2010, vol. 1, pp. 291, 321, 951. Leipzig 2011–12, p. 265.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1909, cat. 9, p. 16. Munich et al. 1951, cat. 11, p. 50 (Berlin only). Munich 1952, cat. 11, n.pag. Braunschweig 1954, cat. 17, n.pag., ill.; Bremen 1953–54, cat. 17., n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 42, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 48, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960 cat. 46, n.pag., ill. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 3, p. 5. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 5, pp. 8, 41 (ill.).[32] Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, cat. 46, pp. 45, 95 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 10, pp. 18, 20, 53, 72, 73 (fig. 2), 79, 92, 118, 193 (color ill.), 194, 196, 205, 446. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 7, pp. 17, 58, 63–64, 65–66 (color ill.), 229.

RELATED WORKS: Figs. 4/1–2

NOTES
1. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Dec. 29, 1908. "Was nicht die Natur zerstörte, begannen die Phänen der Menschheit zu plündern und verwüsten."
2. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Dec. 30, 1908.
3. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Dec. 31, 1908, p. 13; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 93. Translation slightly modified by author. Hans Kinkel convincingly identified Beckmann's reference as the account of one Dr. Rossi in the *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Dec. 31, 1908. See MB, ibid., p. 54. In the same day's news, another witness said that "escaped prisoners committed horrible crimes" ("befreite Flüchtlinge fürchterliche Schandtaten begangen hatten"). A 1951 exhibition catalogue lists the work as *Ausbruch aus den Gefängnissen von Messina* (Escape from the Prisons of Messina). Munich et al. 1951, no. 11, p. 50. Not incidentally, a 1956 invoice bears the same title, indicating that this variant may have originated with Minna Beckmann-Tube and Peter Beckmann. Musikantiquariat Hans Schneider to MDM, Apr. 20, 1956, May Archives, SLAM.
4. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 17, 1909, p. 29; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 102. For more on Beckmann's technique, including underdrawing, see Bruno Heimberg, "Aspects of Beckmann's Painting Technique," in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 129–36; Gottschaller 1998a, p. 8.
5. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 21, 1909, p. 31; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 103.
6. Kaiser 1913, p. 28.
7. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Apr. 4, 1909, p. 40; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 109. Translation modified by author.
8. MB (note 5).
9. See for example MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 31, 1909, p. 37; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 107. See also Gallwitz 1982–83, p. 153. Ewald Gäßler noted the work of Max Klinger, which was on exhibit at the Berlin Secession while *Messina* was in progress, as a possible source for what Beckmann called the "two men fighting." Gäßler 1974, p. 149.
10. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983 (note 5), pp. 31–32; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 104.
11. Ibid., Jan. 30, 1909, p. 37; English in ibid., p. 107.
12. Gäßler 1974, p. 143; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 64. The painting played a key role in Ernst Gerhard Güse's reading of Beckmann's early work as revealing the influence of Nietzschean vitalism. Güse 1977, pp. 34–35.
13. Kaiser 1913, p. 7. "Beckmann ist ohne Berlin nicht gut denkbar."
14. Ibid., p. 12. "Beckmanns Lebensauffassung, die als Gemeinsames in der Koloristik und Komposition seiner Malerei steckt, nährt und spiegelt sich in Berlin."
15. As noted in the intro to this chap., Beckmann referred to himself as the "German Delacroix." Indeed, the final title of the present work recalls that of Delacroix's *Scene from the Massacre at Chios* (1824; Musée du Louvre, Paris). See Schneede 2009, p. 24. Moreover, the twist of the head and torso of the female figure in the foreground of *Messina* may refer to the concubine being stabbed in the foreground of Delacroix's *Death of Sardanapalus* (1827; Musée du Louvre, Paris), albeit in reverse. For more on the critics' response in 1909, see intro. to this chap., notes 8, 32.
16. Kaiser 1913, p. 28.
17. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 21, 1909, p. 31; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 104.
18. See also Güse 1977, p. 34.
19. See for example Anna Plehn, "Berliner Sezession," *Sozialistische Monatshefte* 12 (1908), p. 771. "Abgesehen davon, dass man bei keiner das Modell vergisst, bestehen keine deutlichen Beziehungen zwischen den verschiedenen Menschen." (Apart from the fact that one can never forget the model with any of them, there is no clear relationship between the various people.) For a similar critique of Lovis Corinth, see Curt Glaser, "Die XXVI. Ausstellung der Berliner Secession," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte für freie und angewandte Kunst* 28 (1913), p. 468.
20. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, Jan. 28, 1909, pp. 34–35; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 106.
21. Ibid., Mar. 2, 1909, p. 38; English in ibid., p. 108.
22. Ibid., Apr. 4, 1909, p. 40; English in ibid., p. 109. Translation slightly modified by author.
23. See for example Güse 1977, p. 25.
24. Julius Elias wrote, "Höhere Ziele sozusagen setzt sich Max Beckmann: eine Sintflut, das Erdbeben von Messina und Anderes. . . . Ein Theater, mit schmutzig-trüber Malerei geschildert." (Max Beckmann sets himself higher goals so to speak: a deluge, the earthquake of Messina and others. . . . A theater depicted with dirty-drab painting.) Elias, "Das zehnte Berliner Sezessionsjahr," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 12 (1909), p. 403.
25. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Dec. 31, 1908. A ship captain reported, "Die Häuser scheinen noch alle zu stehen, tatsächlich stehen aber nur die vertikalen Mauern noch aufrecht, überall sind jedoch die Dächer und die Böden

eingestürzt." (All the houses still seem to be standing, but in reality only the vertical walls are upright, everywhere the roofs and the floors have collapsed.)
26. Karl Scheffler, "Max Beckmann," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 11 (1913), pp. 302, 304, cited in Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 63.
27. MB to Caesar Kunwald, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Mar. 17, 1909, no. 41, pp. 58–59. "Ich habe eine ganze Menge Bilder fabrizirt [*sic*] Sintflut, Auferstehung und jetzt vor 14 Tagen bin ich mit einem 3. großen Bild 'Scene [*sic*] aus dem Untergang Messinas' fertig geworden. Was die Menschen dazu sagen werden ist mir ziemlich gleichgültig. Ich kenne jetzt meinen Weg."
28. The last time Beckmann mentioned in his diary working on *Messina* was Apr. 4, 1909. MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, p. 40; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 109. Schneede 2009, p. 25.
29. Berlin 1909, cat. 9, p. 16.
30. Mayen Beckmann, e-mail to author, Sept. 26, 2012. Beckmann-Tube wrote to Beckmann about the poor state of the Hermsdorf house after the war, noting that it leaked horribly when it rained. MBT to MB, Apr. 23, 1947, in Wieg 2005, p. 103. Peter Beckmann also mentioned that the paintings had to be restretched before their exhibition in Munich 1952 (see cat. 7, note 16).
31. May had initially hoped to purchase Beckmann's *Resurrection* (1909; Göpel 104). Beckmann-Tube and Peter Beckmann were reluctant to sell it to a private collector, believing it belonged in a sacred place. At the time of the sale, both *Messina* and *Titanic* were housed at the Staatsgalerie, Munich. Peter Beckmann and his mother lived in nearby Gauting. PB to MDM, Jan. 22, 1956, May Archives, SLAM.
32. Although cat. 4 is in the catalogue (New York/St. Louis 1970), both it and cat. 7 were too large to be exhibited. Eisendrath 1969, p. 15.

Cat. 5
Portrait of Mink with Violet Shawl, 1910

Oil on canvas; 53¾ x 39⁹⁄₁₆ in. (136.5 x 100.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 838:1983
Signed and dated, on fragment attached to stretcher: *HBSL / 10*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Bildnis Minna Beckmann-Tube mit violettem Schal* (Portrait of Minna Beckmann-Tube with a Violet Shawl), *Dame mit blauem Schal* (Lady with Blue Shawl), *Minna Beckmann mit violettem Schal* (*Minna Beckmann with Purple Shawl*), *Porträt M. mit violettem Schal* (Portrait M. with Violet Shawl), *Porträt von Frau Beckmann* (Portrait of Mrs. Beckmann), *Portrait of Minna with Purple Shawl*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher: u.c., in red crayon: *KM* [upside down]; u.c., in red crayon: *K13* [sideways]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. At some point before Morton D. May acquired the painting, an approximately six-inch section of the top of the canvas was folded over. In 1960 strip was removed, and the portion with the signature and date was mounted on mat board that was stapled to the reverse of the wood (Muleski) stretcher. At the same time, original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax to correct old tears at the upper left and flatten surface undulations throughout. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to rich vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Low-to-moderate impasto. In 1960 PVA varnish was applied to consolidate interlayer cleavage. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** In 1960 discolored natural varnish was removed and Lucite 44 varnish applied. In 1993 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing varnish.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Feb. 1913, to Henry B. Simms, Hamburg; by descent, 1922, to Gertrud Simms, Hamburg; given, c. 1936, to Paul I. and Irma Heymann, Hamburg, Angola, Luray (Va.), Baltimore; sold, Apr. 18, 1960, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Herbst 1909–Frühjahr 1910 Hermsdorf: 95) Portrait v. Mink mit violettem Schawl Sammlung Sims*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Kaiser 1913, no. 95, n.pag. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 97, p. 65. Göpel 1976, no. 125, vol. 1, pp. 99, 516, 540, 554; vol. 2, p. 51 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, p. 23 (fig. 4). MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 344, n. 449. Wieg 2005, pp. 204 (ill.), 235, n. 46. Munich 2012, fig. 19. pp. 32, 33 (color ill.), 332.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1913a, perhaps cat. 3 or 32, n.pag.[22] Hamburg 1914 (no cat.).* Hamburg 1918, cat. 7, n.pag. Stockholm 1922, cat. 6, p. 5.[23] Mannheim 1928, cat. 18, p. 11. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 49, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 47, n.pag. Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 9, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1966–67, pp. 2, 33. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 5, p. 5. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 2, pp. 5, 30 (ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 2, pp. 5–6, 30 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 2, pp. 5–6, 30 (ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 2, pp. 5–6, 30 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 2, pp. 5–6, 30 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 2, pp. 7 (fig. 2), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 6, pp. 8, 42 (ill.). Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, cat. 52, pp. 45, 103 (fig. 54 [color]). St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 4, 5 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 8, pp. 68, 69 (color ill.), 229. Leipzig 2011–12, cat. 12, pp. 82, 94, 96, [99] (color ill.), 368.

NOTES
1. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, pp. 157, 189; Wieg 2005, p. 12. Although there has been some confusion about whether the two met in 1902 or 1903, Christian Lenz confirmed the year as 1903, based on documents related to Beckmann-Tube's school admission papers. Lenz 1998, p. 46. In a 1962 interview, Beckmann-Tube said that she met Beckmann just before his eighteenth birthday. MBT, in "Interview des Monats: Leben an der Seite eines Genies," *Der Regenbogen* 9 (1962), p. 4.
2. Scheidig 1961, p. 80. For more on Beckmann-Tube's artistic training and career, see "Interview des Monats" (note 1), pp. 4–7; Reimertz 1996; Lenz 1998; Wieg 2005.
3. This includes only actual portraits and not paintings for which Beckmann-Tube modeled (see cats. 4, 7). For a list, see Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 548. See also Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 68.
4. According to correspondence in 1960 between May and his conservator, James Roth, about six inches of the canvas had been folded over. May Archives, SLAM.
5. Haxthausen 1985, p. 4.
6. MBT, cited in Karlsruhe 1963, n.pag.
7. By 1924 the painting was dated to 1909. Glaser et al. 1924, p. 75.
8. On the folded portion, see note 4. Learning of the inscription after the canvas had been cut, May wrote to Roth: "In fact, if I had known that the signature was on the canvas I would not have let you cut off the overlapping edges, as the signature shows that Beckmann undoubtedly wanted the painting to go the length of the painted canvas." MDM to James Roth, June 24, 1960, May Archives, SLAM. Roth responded that the stretcher and the fold were old and thus hypothesized that Beckmann himself folded the canvas. Roth to MDM, June 30, 1960, May Archives, SLAM. Many works in the Simms collection were removed from their original stretchers, however (see note 10).
9. Simms preferred to purchase directly from artists. See Dagmar Lott-Reschke, "'Du holde Kunst, ich danke dir.' Henry B. Simms—Kaufmann und Sammler," in Luckhardt/Schmeede 2001, p. 66. Simms is not listed as the owner of the painting in Kaiser 1913 because the book was released just before he purchased it.
10. Beckmann's income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin) notes, "Mitte Februar Portrait v. Mink mit violete Schal sitzend an Sims [*sic*] 1200." In January 1912, Beckmann wrote in his diary about preparing himself mentally for an extended visit to Simms to paint the family portrait. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, p. 114. At the time of his death, Simms's collection had taken on such proportions that the local paper could state, "His house was filled to the gable with pictures" ("Sein Haus war bis an die Giebel mit Bildern angefüllt"). *Hamburger Nachrichten*, Aug. 22, 1922, cited in Lott-Reschke (note 9), p. 68. Although *Simms Family Portrait* was widely publicized and admired, it was eventually rolled up and housed in the Simmses' attic, along with many other canvases. Whether the portrait of Beckmann-Tube was rolled up and stored in the attic as well is not known, but this might explain why, at some point, it was remounted on a smaller stretcher.
11. MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, pp. 423, 424, n. 64. Simms also owned *Self-Portrait with Hat* (fig. 14).
12. Charlotte von Stangen, granddaughter of Henry B. and Gertrud Simms, to author, June 24, 2010. Beckmann-Tube began performing as a singer in 1912. Wieg 2005, p. 244.
13. MB to Rudolf von Simolin, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Oct. 18, 1930, no. 541, p. 177. "Die 10 Simsschen Bilder gehören mit 1. od. 2. Ausnahmen zu meinen besten Vorkriegsarbeiten."
14. "Frau S., Hamburg" (Gertrud Simms) is listed as the owner in Mannheim 1928.
15. *Meister des 19. Und 20. Jahrhunderts aus der Sammlung Simms, Hamburg*, sale cat. (Berlin: Paul Cassirer/Hugo Helbig, Nov. 14, 1930).
16. The Heymanns lived at Isestrasse 127, around the corner from the Simmses. Jewish Congregation, tax index 1913–1942, film A23 D, Hamburg Staatsarchiv. The landscape is *Dark Nenndorf Landscape* (1910; Göpel 133). See also intro. to Chap. 1, note 54. A list from 1936 of the Simmses' estate mentions the portrait of Beckmann-Tube: "Beckmann: Lila Frau 7.500." Copy of estate list, courtesy of Ulrich Luckhardt. See also Lott-Reschke (note 9), p. 68, n. 3.
17. Jewish Congregation, tax index (note 16). In a letter to Beckmann of Apr. 21, 1948, Irma Heymann wrote, "Vielleicht dürfte es Sie interessieren und amusieren zu hören, daß Ihre Bilder 8 Jahre in Portugiesisch West Afrika gewesen sind—wohin wir, von Deutschland aus, zuerst emigrierten—und daß Ihre sowie unsere anderen Bilder (Habermann, v. Kalckreuth . . . u.a. Meister) . . . auf den Köpfen von Eingeborenen durch den Urwald geschaukelt sind. . . ." (Perhaps you

might be interested and amused to hear that your pictures were in Portuguese West Africa for eight years where we immigrated to first from Germany—and that your and our other pictures [Habermann, v. Kalckreuth (*sic*) . . . among other masters] . . . have swayed on the heads of locals through the tropical forest.) Max Beckmann Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C.
18. According to his 1962 funeral record, Paul I. Heymann lived in the U.S. for twenty-five years. But this would date his immigration to America to 1937, two years before German records place him in Angola (see note 17). It is more likely that he and his wife arrived in the U.S. in 1947, fifteen years before his death. I would like to thank Deb Weiner of the Jewish Museum of Maryland and Gail Schulhoff for their assistance.
19. Irma Heymann to MB (note 17).
20. They did so with the help of an intermediary, a relative named Saul Schulhoff. Schulhoff to MDM, Dec. 7, 1959, May Archives, SLAM.
21. May sold the landscape to Marlborough Fine Arts, London, in 1968. May accession record, May Archives, SLAM.
22. The painting could have been either cat. 3 (*Bildnis: Frau B* [*verkäuflich*]) (Portrait: Mrs. B [for sale]) or cat. 32 (*Gattin des Malers*) (Wife of the Painter).
23. In the Stockholm 1922 catalogue, cat. 6 is listed as "Porträtt, Fru B. sittande" (Portrait, Mrs. B. Seated). No owner is mentioned, whereas in the same catalogue another painting by Beckmann is specifically listed as in the Simms collection. On the other hand, among the five paintings from the Simms collection that Göpel 1976 established were in the exhibition was another portrait of Minna (*Fru B. igrå päls*) (Mrs. B. in Gray Fur), but the catalogue does not mention Simms as its owner either. Thus, despite the fact that the Göpels identified "Porträtt, Fru B. sittande" as SLAM's portrait, it cannot be established with certainty that it was shown in Stockholm in 1922.

Cat. 6
The Prisoners, 1910

Oil on canvas; 35⁹⁄₁₆ x 38½ in. (90.3 x 97.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 839:1983
Signed and dated, u.r.: *HBSL / 10*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On stretcher: u.l., in red crayon: *K9*; u.c., in blue ink: *38½*; u.c., on masking tape, in blue ink: *K6*
On cardboard stapled to stretcher: c.c., on browned label, in ink: *Beckmann 1229 / Die Gefangenen*; c.c., on discolored pink label, printed: *Kunstpalast Düsseldorf / 146*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Lightweight, plain-weave linen. In 1962 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. In 1982 painting was relined on a vacuum hot table using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and Zonarez B-85 polyterpene resin 3:1. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-rich vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Low-to-moderate impasto. In 1982 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied to consolidate interlayer cleavage. Inpainting was also done using B-72 colors. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** In 1962 discolored natural varnish was removed and Lucite 44 varnish applied. In 1982 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Nov. 1911, to Hanns Rabe, Berlin; by descent to his wife, Berlin; sold at auction, Galerie Gerd Rosen, Berlin, May 8, 1962, lot 968, pp. 142, 143 (ill.), to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Frühling u. Sommer Hermsdorf 1910: 98) Die Gefangenen Besitzer Hanns Rabe*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Kaiser 1913, cat. 97, n.pag. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 105, p. 66. Göpel 1976, no. 127, vol. 1, pp. 99–100, 516, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 52 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Fischer 1972, pp. 20–21. Gäßler 1974, p. 2. Güse 1977, p. 46. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 447. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, pp. 112, 150, n. 21. MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 343, n. 449. Westheider 1995, p. 65, n.pag., fig. 5.

EXHIBITIONS: Dresden 1910, cat. 400, n.pag., ill. Düsseldorf 1911, cat. 98, p. 24. Berlin 1913a, cat. 2, n.pag. Mannheim 1928, cat. 19, p. 11. Munich 1952, cat. 13, n.pag. Braunschweig 1953, cat. 21, n.pag.; Bremen 1953–54, cat. 21, n.pag. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 98 addendum (typed insert). Nashville et al. 1966, cat. 18, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 4, p. 5 (ill.). Bielefeld 1968, cat. 3, pp. 6, 31 (ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 3, pp. 6, 31 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 3, pp. 6. 31 (ill.). Bremen 1969a, cat. 3, pp. 6, 31 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 3, pp. 6, 31 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 3, pp. 8 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 7, pp. 8, 43 (ill.). London et al. 1974–75, cat. 4, pp. 8, 25, 41 (ill.). Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83 (Frankfurt only), cat. 53, pp. 45, 105 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 9, pp. 70, 71 (color ill.), 229.

RELATED WORKS: *Five Small Sketches with Inscriptions*, n.d. Pen and black ink on paper; 21.2 x 14.8 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. Zeiller 2010, vol. 1, p. 194. Figs. 6/1–4

NOTES

1. For more on the subject of captivity in Beckmann's pre–World War I work, see Stephan von Wiese, "Fessel-Entfesselung," in Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, p. 213; Fischer 1972, pp. 20–21.
2. Despite its cursory quality, a small, undated compositional sketch (see Related Works) relates closely to the final painting and may have been made after the fact. Zeiller 2010, vol. 1, p. 194, 30v. A note written next to the sketch that is entitled "Die Gefangenen" (The Prisoners) reads: "erledigt am Mai 10" (finished on May 10). The dates of the other drawings in the same sketchbook (Zeiller 2010, p. 194) postdate 1910.
3. Walter Heymann, "Berliner Sezession 1911," *Der Sturm* 63 (May 25, 1911), p. 503. "Wo er voraussetzungslos Fleisch zu malen scheint, hat er unerhört Bravour." (Where he seems to paint flesh without presuppositions, he does so with unparalleled virtuosity.) See also Haxthausen 1985, p. 37.
4. Peter-Klaus Schuster, Christoph Vitalis, and Barbara Butts, eds., *Lovis Corinth* (New York: Prestel, 1996), p. 184.
5. James H. Arthur suggested that Beckmann's canvas may have been a response to a recent incident in the Ottoman Empire such as a 1910 uprising in Albania. E-mail to author, Aug. 23, 2011. Although a compelling hypothesis, given the artist's recent interest in a Sicilian city that had suffered a terrible earthquake (see cat. 4), no evidence has been found to support this idea.
6. As discussed in the intro. to this chap. and in cats. 5 and 7, Beckmann was strongly influenced by Eugène Delacroix, whose paintings, such as *Massacre at Chios* (1824; Musée du Louvre, Paris), often involve dramatic, violent action in an eastern Mediterranean or North African context. Beckmann's *Cleopatra* (1910; Göpel 136), completed just a few months after *The Prisoners*, can also be understood in this light.
7. In his income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin), Beckmann recorded the sale of the painting to Rabe in November 1911 for 1,750 marks ("Die Gefangenen November Hans Rabe 1750").

Cat. 7
Sinking of the Titanic, 1912–13

Oil on canvas; 104¼ x 130 in. (264.8 x 330.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 840:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / 1912*

ALTERNATE TITLE: *Rettungsboote* (Lifeboats)

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Prior to 1983, the painting's backing—four conjoined sheets of Masonite—was attached to a heavy, six-member softwood stretcher (similar to that of cat. 4). The overall adhesive was animal glue; additional (unknown) adhesives were applied to secure several areas of detaching paint. In 1994 painting was removed from the Masonite panels; the separation process involved using large, thin spatulas where possible. Other areas required scalpels. Once the reverse of the canvas was clean, painting was relined using Beva 371 film. An ICA-type stretcher was made for the painting. No springs were employed with the stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-rich vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Pigment applied wet-into-wet, creating low-to-moderate impasto. Surface was faced with heavy Japanese tissue during 1983 structural treatment. No paint was lost during treatment. Paint appears stable and secure (as it was before the removal of the Masonite backing; see above). **Surface coating:** In 1986 discolored natural varnish and old restorations were removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. During the 1994 treatment, neither this layer nor previous in-painting was removed, but a light brush-coating of Regalrez varnish was applied over existing varnish.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Minna Beckmann-Tube and Peter Beckmann, Hermsdorf (Berlin), Gauting (near Munich); sold, May 28, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Sommer Hermsdorf 1912: 127) Untergang der Titanic*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 139, pp. 15, 67; no. 138 (as *Rettungsboote*), p. 67. Göpel 1976, no. 159, vol. 1, pp. 115–16, 517, 543, 554, 564; vol. 2, p. 61 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Glaser et al. 1924, p. 76. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, p. 17. Beckmann 1955, p. 16. Göpel 1957a, p. 10. Myers 1957, pp. 296, 390. Erffa et al. 1962, p. 30. Kessler 1970, pp. 2, 33, [113] (fig. 3). Fischer 1972, p. 21. Gäßler 1974, pp. 2, 121, 134–39, 145–46, fig. 172 (not ill.). Selz 1974, pp. xvi, 239, 284, 371, pl. 95b. London et al. 1974–75, p. 6 (fig. d). Güse 1977, pp. 7, 9, 35–36, 41, 83, 95 (fig. 17). Lackner 1977, pp. 11, 14 (fig. 10). Frankfurt 1981, p. xx (ill.). MB, *Leben in Berlin* 1983, pp. 54–55. Lackner 1983, p. 8. Frankfurt 1983–84, p. 43. Eberle 1984, pp. 16

(fig. 2), 17, 31. Glaser 1984, p. 142 (color ill.). MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, pp. 6, 117, 120, 153, nn. 46, 48. Belting 1989, p. 17. Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, p. 11. St. Louis *Handbook* 1991, p. 196 (color ill.). Selz 1992, p. 16. Roters 1995, pp. 151, 152 (color ill.). Spieler 1995, pp. 17, 25. Selz 1996, pp. 14, 15 (fig. 11 [color]), 16. New York 1996–97, p. 128. Bätschmann 1997, p. 179. Düsseldorf 1997, pp. 28, 37, 39. Schubert 1997, pp. 96–97. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 184. Cologne 2005, p. 162. Hamburg 2005, p. 168 (fig. 20). Peters 2005, pp. 43, 45 (ill.). Wieg 2005, pp. 22, 23 (ill. [det.]), 235, n. 38. Bern 2006, p. 104. Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 36. Schneede 2009, pp. 25, [26–27] (color ill. [det.]), 28 (color ill.), 29, 273. Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. 19, 230, 234, 238–43, 249, 262–64, [413] (fig. 59). Chametzky 2010, pp. 9–23, 29, 31, 34, 197, 218, n. 15, 219, n. 17, 220, n. 40, pl. 1. Zeiller 2010, vol. 1, pp. 199, 203, 321, 951. Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 265.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1913b, cat. 248, p. 46. Bremen 1914, cat. 13, p. 7. Munich et al. 1951, cat. 17, p. 50. Munich 1952, cat. 19, n.pag. Braunschweig 1953, cat. 28, n.pag.; Bremen 1953–54, cat. 28, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 43, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 51, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 49, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 7, pp. 16, 18 (ill.), 150; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 7, n.pag., fig. 7; London 1965, cat. 7, pp. 16, 25, 43 (pl. 3). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 6, pp. 5, 6 (ill.). New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 9, pp. 8–9, 45 (ill.).[18] New York/San Francisco 1980–81, cat. 318, p. 290 (ill.). Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83, cat. 64, pp. 46, 113 (fig. 64 [color]), 151 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 12, pp. 53, 56, 72–74, 79, 95, 194, 196, 197 (color ill.), 205, 332, 447–48. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 6, 7 (ill.), 9, 15. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 10, pp. 17, 52, 72, 73–74 (color ill.), 75, 230. Paris et al. 2002–3 (not in Paris), pp. 44 (ill.), 352. London/New York 2003, cat. 6, pp. 13, 18–19 (color ill.), 21–22, 24, 27, 97, 103, 264, 286. Louisville 2009–12 (no cat.).

RELATED WORKS: *Old Man with Bare Upper Body, Holding His Arm in Front of His Forehead*, 1912. Graphite on paper; dimensions unknown. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 116; Wiese 1978, no. 104, p. 193. *Seated Female Figure in Profile*, 1912. Graphite or black chalk on paper; dimensions unknown. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 116; Wiese 1978, no. 105, p. 193. *Male Nude, Lying on His Back with Knees Pulled In and Arms Outstretched*, 1912. Graphite on paper; 23.3 x 32.5 cm. Verso: *Man Seen from the Side*, n.d. Black chalk. Gerd Rosen Galerie, Berlin, sale cat. (Nov. 29, 1958), no. 818, p. 118; Wiese 1978, no. 107 (with shortened title), pp. 193–94. *Seated Man with Bare Upper Body, Holding a Pole in His Hands*, 1912. Graphite on paper; 30.3 x 23.7 cm. Gerd Rosen Galerie, Berlin, sale cat. (Nov. 29, 1958), no. 819, p. 118; Wiese 1978, no. 109 (with shortened title), p. 194. Figs. 7/1–5

NOTES

1. In Beckmann's picture list, the painting appears under "spring/summer 1912." See also MB to Reinhard Piper, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Nov. 11, 1912, no. 60, p. 75. "Meine Titanic Katastrophe ist bald beendet und dann geht es mit Energie an weitere Unternehmungen." (My Titanic catastrophe is almost finished and then energy will be put to other undertakings.)

2. In Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 72, Karin von Maur offered a compelling visual source for Beckmann's sketchbook drawings: a 1912 "reporter drawing" (*Reporterzeichnung*) by maritime painter Willy Stöwer. See also Wiese 1978, p. 193.

3. Glaser et al. 1924, p. 76. Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949 lists the painting twice (nos. 138, 139); the first listing uses the title *Rettungsboote*, following Glaser et al. 1924.

4. *Berliner Lokal-Anzeiger*, Apr. 19, 1912, cited in Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 116. "Alle Geretteten machten einen unheimlichen Eindruck durch die stoische, stumpfe Ruhe als ob ihr Schmerz nicht grösser werden, sie nichts Schlimmeres mehr erdulden könnten." See also Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 75.

5. In painting the harbor, Beckmann was following turn-of-the-century examples by Leopold von Kalckreuth and Friedrich Kallmorgen, both of whom did harbor views and seascapes. Hamburg 2005, pp. 78–79, 151–52. Ewald Gäßler compared the "additive composition" (*additive Aufbau*) of *Titanic* to Kalckreuth's harbor scenes. Gäßler 1974, p. 278, n. 56.

6. The publisher Reinhard Piper remembered that, because the painting was too heavy to turn and view, Beckmann instead showed him "sketches and individual studies" in his studio in 1912. Piper 1950, p. 12. Two drawings from 1912 illustrated an article by Karl Scheffler, who noted with skepticism that Beckmann was preparing a large canvas of the sinking of the *Titanic* for the upcoming Secession exhibition. While the elderly man (Wiese 104) does not appear in the painting, the female figure (Wiese 105) is almost identical to the woman at the far right wearing a dress with a deep neckline. Scheffler, "Max Beckmann," *Kunst und Künstler: illustrierte Monatsschrift für bildende Kunst und Kunstgewerbe* 11 (1913), pp. 305, 302, respectively.

7. The child closest to the foreground in the boat at the far right has shorter hair than the girl depicted in fig. 7/4, but they exhibit similar physiognomies. The features of the woman in fig. 7/4 are close to those of the female in the painting wearing a black dress and holding an even smaller child, seen directly behind the aforementioned woman and child. See *Max Beckmann. Zeichnungen und Druckgraphik aus der Sammlung Hegewisch in der Hamburger Kunsthalle* (Bremen: Hauschild, 2005), p. 24.

8. Peter Beckmann wrote Morton D. May that *Titanic* includes portrayals of his mother and father, but did not mention that it features his likeness as well. PB to MDM, Feb. 5, 1956, May Archives, SLAM. See Schneede 2009, p. 28.

9. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, Mar. 23, 1913, p. 120; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 126.

10. Ibid., Apr. 1, 1913, p. 120; English in ibid., p. 127.

11. Among the notes the artist made to himself in Hamburg sometime in early 1913 is one to "tone frame for Titanic," implying the existence of the frame and perhaps dating the studio photograph to before his departure for Hamburg. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, p. 117. Based on this and evidence provided in his diaries, Doris Schmidt dated the studio photograph to 1912. It is thus likely that Beckmann continued work on the canvas after it was framed, as Max Liebermann was also known to do. Comparing the studio photograph to the painting, Schmidt noted major changes to the boat at the upper left, the vessel sinking at the center, and the boat in front of the iceberg. She argued further that Beckmann added the bright lights on board the *Titanic* after the studio photograph was taken and that previously the iceberg was not situated as tightly between the ocean liner and the lifeboats. MB, ibid., p. 153, n. 46.

12. MB to Henry B. Simms, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Apr. 9, 1913, no. 69, p. 81. "Auch die Titanic hätte ihm noch viel besser gefallen wie im Atelier." (He also liked the Titanic better than he did in the studio.) The painting left the studio on Mar. 17, 1913. MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, p. 121; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 127. According to a list entitled "Bilder bei Cassirer" (Paintings with Cassirer) that Beckmann wrote by hand in a sketchbook, the dealer Paul Cassirer had the painting, along with *Scene from the Destruction of Messina* (cat. 4), until at least 1915. Sketchbook 9, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., 1984.64.50. See Zeiller 2010, vol. 1, p. 321.

13. Curt Glaser, "Die XXVI. Ausstellung der Berliner Secession," *Die Kunst: Monatshefte für freie und angewandte Kunst*, 27. *Freie Kunst der "Kunst für alle"* 28 (1913), p. 464.

14. For more recent writing on this topic, see Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 75; Chametzky 2009, p. 241. Even closer than Delacroix's *Shipwreck of Don Juan* in the Louvre is a small oil sketch for the painting (c. 1820s) in the Victoria & Albert Museum, London. The work is illustrated in black and white in Lee Johnson, *The Paintings of Eugène Delacroix. A Critical Catalogue, 1832–1863,* vol. 4 (New York: Oxford, 1987), pl. 96. See also http//www.vam.ac.uk for a color image and description. Accessed Dec. 8, 2014.

15. Wieg 2005, p. 22.

16. Peter Beckmann noted that, in preparation for Munich 1952, early paintings were flown by Americans from Berlin to Munich via Frankfurt and were restretched (in the lecture hall of Munich's Botanisches Institut), because they had been removed from their stretchers. PB, "Max Beckmann und Günther Franke," in *Hommage à Günther Franke* (Munich: Das Museum [Villa Stuck], 1983), p. 21. The Göpels noted that Gertrud Weingarten, Herrsching (Ammersee), restored the painting in the early 1950s. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 116. According to Florian Schwemer, Doerner Institut, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich, in an e-mail to author, Feb. 21, 2011, no further information on this treatment has been located to date. The Masonite panels (see Technical History and Condition) may have been added at this time. In 1956 Peter Beckmann noted that the paintings could not be rolled up for overseas transport. PB to MDM, Feb. 5, 1956, May Archives, SLAM.

17. At the time of the sale, both *Titanic* and *The Destruction of Messina* (cat. 4) were on loan to the Staatsgalerie, Munich.

18. Although cat. 7 is in the catalogue, it and cat. 4 were too large to be exhibited. Eisendrath 1969, p. 15.

CHAPTER 2

After World War I

Cats. 8–11

CHAPTER 2

After World War I

Like many artists and intellectuals at the time, Max Beckmann responded to Germany's declaration of war in 1914 with enthusiasm.[1] Some considered the war to be a national imperative, while others felt it could be an apocalyptic solution to cultural crisis.[2] Beckmann volunteered to serve as a medical orderly and was in occupied Belgium on the front lines by March 1915.[3] He described what he saw to Minna Beckmann-Tube: "In the semidarkness of the shelter, half-naked men, drenched with blood, to whom white bandages were being applied. Grand and painful in expression. New visions of scourgings of Christ."[4] The artist's experiences on the front fed his curiosity but ultimately sobered his view of the war. Beckmann sketched such scenes diligently until he suffered a breakdown from mental and physical exhaustion and was given a leave.[5] Instead of returning to Berlin, he moved in with his friends Ugi and Fridel Battenberg in Frankfurt. *Self-Portrait with Red Scarf* of 1917 (fig. 18), the image of Beckmann most identified with this period of his life, shows the artist seated in Ugi Battenberg's Frankfurt studio in front of a large, paned window and blue curtain. At the far left is a balcony with a potted plant; a church steeple and large, sallow sun are visible beyond.[6] Beckmann bites down hard on his lower lip, and his wide, glassy eyes look nervously askance, perhaps at a mirror (suggested by the incomplete brown line running along the painting's right edge) that he used to depict himself. His veiny arm is poised in mid-air, his fingers clench an unseen brush. Indeed, the position of this hand in relation to the outdoor view suggests that the scene may in fact be a painting within the painting. The individual depicted here is worlds away from the young man in bowler hat and formal dress, palette and brush in hand, confidently looking at the viewer in the self-portrait Beckmann had executed seven years before (fig. 14). The later work distinguishes itself from the earlier one not only in the artist's haggard appearance, but in the thin application of paint, diminished use of color, and spatial ambiguity.

Fig. 18. Max Beckmann. *Self-Portrait with Red Scarf*, 1917. Oil on canvas; 80 x 60 cm. Göpel 194. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

The four paintings featured in this chapter span a ten-year period beginning in 1917. Like *Self-Portrait with Red Scarf*, they do not directly represent the artist's war experience but are unimaginable without it. They can be seen as responses to World War I and/or the rising specter of fascism in Europe. Stylistically disparate, they challenge the idea that the dramatic formal changes in Beckmann's art, as demonstrated by the above comparison of the two self-portraits, resulted in a

monolithic style in the 1920s. Furthermore, all four canvases are closely bound to the history of the Kunsthalle Mannheim and its ambitious exhibition program during the Weimar period. Indeed, that institution's director, Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, recognized key developments in German art of the period, defining and promoting them in a series of landmark exhibitions.[7] For Hartlaub and many others, Beckmann was an artist of his time, as well as one who defied categorization.

New Religious Art

As discussed in Chapter 1, Beckmann painted a number of large-scale canvases with religious subjects in Berlin before the war, including his 1909 *Resurrection* (Göpel 104; Staatsgalerie Stuttgart). After leaving the front, the artist continued in Frankfurt to produce works on biblical themes such as *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 19) and *Christ and the Sinner* (cat. 8). In his memoirs, Reinhard Piper, publisher of many of Beckmann's prints and two monographs on the artist, recounted a visit to the artist's Frankfurt studio in May 1917. Propped against the wall was another, unfinished *Resurrection* (fig. 20).[8] Begun in 1916, the massive canvas was far from being a reprise of Beckmann's 1909 version of the subject. "Across the whole thing," wrote Piper, "there lay a gray, corpselike tone . . . beautiful painting had been abandoned, everything painted in unrealistic colors, like a cartoon [*kartonhaft*] more drawn than painted."[9] Because the work was not yet complete, Piper witnessed for the first time Beckmann's process of underdrawing (see the introduction to Chapter 1 and cat. 4). The apocalyptic landscape is punctuated by groups of people, including the artist, his wife and child, and the Battenbergs. Many figures resemble the wounded and dead soldiers lying naked on gurneys and others such as farmers sowing fields, whom the artist had sketched at the front.[10] The association Beckmann made in the painting between war and salvation recalls his observation from the trenches that these soldiers resembled the beaten body of Christ. He painted the three above-mentioned compositions toward the end of the war, while he was still working as an orderly and when the German civilian population felt increasingly disillusioned in light of major losses suffered by its armed forces.[11]

Decidedly less prolific than in his early career, Beckmann finished only thirteen canvases in the four years following his return from the front, and he purposely held off exhibiting this body of work.[12] When these paintings finally debuted in 1919, critics were taken aback by Beckmann's "radical change of style" (*radikalen Wandel des Stils*).[13] Indeed, this group of works mark a significant departure from what the artist had done previously. Gone are the academic figures and thick, colorful brushwork. In their place are cadaverous beings

Fig. 19. Max Beckmann. *Descent from the Cross*, 1917. Oil on canvas; 151.1 x 128.9 cm. Göpel 192. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, Curt Valentin Bequest, 328.1955.

with elongated limbs, rendered with much thinner pigment. Contemporaries were quick to interpret such changes as influenced by the war. "There is probably not another example in recent German art of anyone who has achieved so fundamental a transformation of pictorial vision in such a few years," the prominent art historian Paul Ferdinand Schmidt wrote about Beckmann. "One cannot say that the war has accelerated his development; it has become for him a form-generating experience."[14] So too, Heinrich Simon, editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, detected in Beckmann's recent production a renewed interest in the turbulent spirit of the period, marked as it was by armed conflict and revolution.[15]

Beckmann's post–World War I interest in religious, specifically Christian, content was by no means unique. In the wake of the war, expressionist artists such as Emil Nolde and Max Pechstein turned increasingly away from the idyllic themes that dominated their earlier work to depict scenes from the Old and New Testaments. In 1918 Beckmann described a desire—shared by many of his contemporaries—for art and architecture to become new centers of faith.[16] He wished to one day "make buildings along with my pictures. To build a tower, in which humanity can shriek out its rage and despair

Fig. 20. Max Beckmann. *Resurrection*, 1916–18 (unfinished). Oil and charcoal on canvas; 345 x 497 cm. Göpel 190. Staatsgalerie Stuttgart.

and all its poor hopes and joys and wild yearning. A new church."[17] According to Piper, Beckmann planned four more paintings in the vein of *Resurrection*, for which he would build "modern devotional halls" (*moderne Andachtshallen*).[18] The publisher quoted the artist as saying, in perhaps playful reference to his prewar penchant for large canvases, "'In short, as you can see: I am pretty megalomaniacal again!'"[19] Even though *Resurrection* was never completed, the additional compositions not undertaken, and no such halls ever built, the ambitious canvas remained in Beckmann's studio as a backdrop for all his work of this period.[20] In order to address a trend he called a "strange spiritual revolution" (*seltsame seelische Umwälzung*), in 1917 Hartlaub, then deputy director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim, began to plan an exhibition on the subject.[21] Delayed by the ongoing war, "Neue Religiöse Kunst" (New Religious Art) opened in early 1918. It included examples by Nolde, Pechstein, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff. As Karoline Hille demonstrated, the exhibition sought in large part to convince audiences that expressionism was the ideal style in which to address modern religious experience.[22]

Based on Beckmann's prewar reputation as a painter of religious themes, Hartlaub invited him in 1917 to participate in the exhibition. The artist was enthusiastic but refused, explaining, "I do not want to exhibit new pictures for a number of years in order to reach a certain goal that I have set for myself."[23] In another communication to Hartlaub, he declared, "My time has not yet come."[24] Although Hartlaub had initially expressed interest in the 1909 *Resurrection*, a visit to the artist's Frankfurt studio changed the nature of his focus entirely. Ultimately, it was Beckmann's recent paintings—*Resurrection*, *Descent from the Cross*, and *Christ and the Sinner*—and not his earlier treatments of biblical themes that played a significant role in a book that Hartlaub was writing, *Kunst und Religion* (Art and Religion) (1919). This volume in fact introduced Beckmann's new work to the world.[25] In Hartlaub's opinion, the impact of war on Beckmann increased his formal discipline. This, he felt, produced in *Christ and the Sinner* "a maguslike and yet exalted view of Christ, the likes of which has actually never before been attempted."[26] Even more than the artist's other religious subjects, he believed that the apocalyptic landscape of the wartime *Resurrection* spoke to the "tragic, grotesque character of our time."[27] Hartlaub began to distance himself from his original enthusiasm for expressionism, deeming Beckmann's work to be a much fuller expression of gnostic principles.[28] At Hartlaub's urging, Fritz Wichert (see cat. 38), then director of the Kunsthalle, purchased *Christ and the Sinner* for the museum in 1919.[29] Beckmann's art would remain central to Hartlaub's thinking for the next decade.

Neue Sachlichkeit

By 1920 Hartlaub was one of many strong proponents of expressionism who had become increasingly disillusioned about its possibilities. He felt that the style could not sufficiently convey the connection between art and the spiritual, while others saw it as having failed to create a new relationship between art and life.[30] A number of expressionist artists who had embraced a revolutionary stance in the immediate aftermath of the war now occupied academic positions. Expressionism was thus widely seen as having become too successful, even fashionable: elements of the style had been readily co-opted for design and advertising, realms often pejoratively associated with the "decorative" and "commercial." The general consensus was that expressionism had run its course.

Hartlaub assumed directorship of the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1923 and immediately began planning a groundbreaking exhibition. "Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus" (New Objectivity: German Painting since Expressionism) opened two years later.[31] The term *Neue Sachlichkeit* quickly became the most popular way (along with other such designations as New Naturalism, Magic Realism, New Nature Painting) to describe a wide range of representational styles united under the descriptive "post-expressionist." Hartlaub organized the show according to two strains, or wings (*Flügel*), that he identified in the emerging artistic development. In the exhibition, Otto Dix and George Grosz, among others, represented the left, or "verist," camp, associated with caricature and biting social satire. The right wing was dominated by the Munich "classicists," artists such as Alexander Kanoldt, Carl Mense, and Georg Schrimpf. The "classicist" strain was characterized as "drawing purely from nature" and identified as influenced by contemporary French and Italian models.[32] Critics cited the influence of the return-to-order (*retour à l'ordre*) movement in France, including Pablo Picasso's recent neoclassicist manner and the metaphysical painting (*pittura metafisica*) of Italian artists such as Carlo Carrà and Giorgio di Chirico.[33]

With fourteen paintings, Beckmann had the second-to-largest representation in the exhibition, after that of Kanoldt.[34] Beckmann's privileged position reflects Hartlaub's belief that the artist's work was capable of uniting both "wings."[35] While Hartlaub did not articulate how such a feat might be accomplished, in 1917 Beckmann mentioned his interest in objective representation, using the language of "objectivity" (*Sachlichkeit*): "Be the child of one's time. Naturalism against one's own self. Objectivity of the inner vision."[36] Despite the expressionist pathos of a credo he wrote most likely the following year, the artist continued to argue against sentimentality. Painting, he wrote, forced him to be objective.[37] A review by Curt Glaser that predates the Mannheim exhibition also suggests how Beckmann's art could have been understood as working both within and beyond the two "wings." In 1921 Glaser posited that the artist's most recent painting might be branded "verism." He pointedly noted that the term was only one of many in the "latest terminology." "Form is not stylized, " he wrote about Beckmann's work. "The color is not heightened decoratively, but rather with the will to [express] the absolute truth of the depicted reality."[38] While both Beckmann and Grosz could be associated with "verism," Glaser explicitly contrasted the former's new work with the latter's caricatures, arguing that Beckmann did not foreground the grotesque qualities of a figure (or group of figures). Rather, he focused on the whole, creating a balance between detail and the entire composition. A few years later, Wilhelm Fraenger would emphasize the discipline of Beckmann's post–World War I style—exemplified by *The Dream* (cat. 9)—rather than the often exaggerated features and gestures of his characters, as expressing his response to chaos and ugliness.[39] This observation recalls a passage from the artist's aforementioned credo: "The stronger my determination grows to grasp the unutterable things of this world, the deeper and more powerful the emotion burning inside me about our existence, the tighter I keep my mouth shut and the harder I try to capture the terrible, thrilling monster of life's vitality and to confine it, to beat it down and to strangle it with crystal-clear, razor-sharp lines and planes."[40]

Despite the wide variety of styles represented in Hartlaub's exhibition, in strictly formal terms critics ultimately came to associate *Neue Sachlichkeit* with careful execution, attention to detail, and smooth finish. Both Schmidt and Kanoldt questioned Hartlaub's inclusion of Beckmann in the exhibition on precisely such formal grounds; Schmidt associated him with "artists of expression" (*Ausdruckskünstlern*) such as Kokoschka and Nolde, both of whom employed thick, visible brushwork.[41] Paintings by Beckmann such as *The Dream*—with their thin paint application; smooth surface; and linear, clearly defined forms—can be characterized as "graphic" in style, but another work by the artist in the Mannheim show, *Lido* (cat. 10), exhibits substantial impasto. Thus, while his stylistic shift parallels broader ones in German painting in the years after World War I, Beckmann's canvases cannot be considered through the lens of expressionist facture or *Neue Sachlichkeit* surface. His relationship to the latter, like that to the former, was complicated. Beckmann refused to be associated with any art movement, which has contributed to the difficulty and risks of categorizing his oeuvre. On the one hand, he has often been dismissed from discussions of *Neue Sachlichkeit* in favor of artists such as Dix or Grosz, even though he occupied such a significant position in the defining 1925 exhibition. On the other, when critics detected in his work of the late 1920s another dramatic stylistic shift (see Chapter 3),

they saw this as signaling an end to *Neue Sachlichkeit*.[42] In a 1926 letter to his dealer J. B. Neumann, the artist referred to *Neue Sachlichkeit* as "bankrupt" and spoke of bringing to art a new "object" (*Gegenstand*). This signifies an approach that went beyond what was considered (perhaps by Beckmann as well) as the style's emphasis on carefully rendered details and surface. He was also thinking in terms of architecture. This association is demonstrated in the artist's likening, in the same letter, his paintings to "transportable pieces of wall" (*transportable Stücke Wand*).[43] In other words, this focus on the "object" may have had to do with an emphasis on strong compositional structure and a related understanding of painting itself as an object.

Max Beckmann Retrospective

In 1928 the Kunsthalle Mannheim featured Beckmann's art yet again, the occasion being his first major solo show in fifteen years. Designed as a retrospective, the exhibition included early work not seen since before World War I, such as *Three Women in the Studio* (cat. 5) and *The Prisoners* (cat. 6); examples from just after the war, including *The Dream* and the Kunsthalle's own *Christ and the Sinner*; and his most recent efforts.[44] Until this moment, the artist's prewar work had all but disappeared from view, becoming remnants of a distant time. By refusing to exhibit during and immediately after the war, Beckmann maximized the impact his work had on audiences seeing it for the first time. In fact, like the first show of his postwar art in Frankfurt in 1919, the 1928 retrospective was intended to create a dramatic reveal of the artist's recent efforts. Although not much is known about the layout, a gallery was dedicated to canvases illustrating Beckmann's stylistic break during the war; this became the primary focus of the press.[45] Thus in 1928 the change in his manner made for a compelling story, one to be understood not just in light of the development of a single individual, but as characteristic of the time, the "fate of a generation" (*Schicksal einer Generation*).[46] In the catalogue foreword, Hartlaub, considering the arc of Beckmann's career to date, posited, "[His] long, difficult ascent may now finally be over, as if the high point is only today just really beginning."[47]

During the exhibition, *The Harbor at Genoa* (cat. 11) was one of two paintings reportedly damaged by a visitor.[48] Likely an act of malicious intent, the vandalism was associated with other controversies at this time around Beckmann's work, which was known to provoke the public as well as the conservative press.[49] Beckmann was at the height of his success in Germany by the time the Mannheim show was mounted. After Mannheim two more exhibitions followed in short succession in Berlin, and the Nationalgalerie purchased a major painting (see the introduction to Chapter 3). With this acquisition, Beckmann achieved what he had long sought—recognition in the German capital—and he turned his sights to a new realm. "Paris," he wrote to Neumann in 1926, "is crying out for us."[50]

NOTES

1. Buenger 1990, esp. pp. 237–40. Although Beckmann's early letters and diary imply otherwise, Peter Beckmann, the artist's son, maintained that his father was critical of the war from the outset; see Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 17. The artist was later largely silent on the topic, but he did describe himself as having had, at the start of the war, a "blackout." When he regained consciousness, he wrote, he was wearing the uniform of a medical orderly. MB to Reinhard Piper, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Mar. 1923, no. 236, p. 232.
2. Weinstein 1990, pp. 18–19. On the response to the war on the part of Berlin Secessionists specifically, see Paret 1980, pp. 235–40.
3. For more on the details of Beckmann's experience in the medical corps, see Wiese 1978, pp. 45–108; Charles Werner Haxthausen, "Beckmann and the First World War," in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 69–80; Buenger 1990; MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 8–10, 133–35, 178.
4. MB, *Briefe im Kriege* 1984, May 4, 1915, p. 55; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 167. Translation slightly modified by author. "In dem halbdunklen Unterstand halbentkleidete, blutüberströmte Männer, denen die weißen Verbände angelegt wurden. Groß und schmerzlich im Ausdruck. Neue Vorstellungen von Geißelungen Christi." The artist regularly sent his wife letters from the front, selections of which appeared in *Kunst und Künstler* in 1914 and 1915. They were collectively published by Bruno Cassirer in Berlin in 1916 and reissued in 1984 as *Briefe im Kriege*. Peter Beckmann stated that the original letters are no longer extant. PB, "Nachwort," in ibid., p. 77.
5. Despite Beckmann's letters from the war and the extensive number of drawings he did then, little is known about his apparent nervous collapse. See Buenger 1979, pp. 88, 178; Haxthausen 1985, p. 70. See also Buenger 1990, p. 239.
6. Battenberg's studio was located on the top floor of a building at Schweizer Strasse 3. It had a view to the Dreikönigskirche, whose steeple likely inspired that in the painting. For more on the studio, see Gallwitz 1984, pp. 7–8.
7. For a thorough account of the Kunsthalle Mannheim and Hartlaub's activity, see Hille 1994.
8. Piper 1950, p. 19. See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, no. 190, pp. 131–32. See also Wiese 1978, p. 100; Wolf-Dieter Dube, "On the 'Resurrection,'" in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 81–89.
9. Piper 1950, p. 19. "Über dem ganzen lag ein grauer Leichenton. . . . Die schöne Malerei war verlassen, alles war in unwirklichen Farben kartonhaft mehr gezeichnet als gemalt." A cartoon is a study, like that used in fresco or mural painting, with the same dimensions as those of the final work.
10. See Wiese 1978, esp. pp. 100–8.
11. According to the *Vossische Zeitung*, Beckmann continued to work as an orderly in a Frankfurt hospital, rather than on the battlefield, through November 1917. Buenger 1979, p. 88. See also Buenger 1990, p. 252.
12. The thirteen paintings noted here refer to those in Beckmann's picture list for the years 1915–18, excluding the unfinished *Resurrection*.
13. Paul Ferdinand Schmidt, "Zur Ausstellung seiner neuesten Arbeiten in Frankfurt a. M.," *Cicerone* 11 (1919), pp. 380–81. The exhibition was organized by the Frankfurt Vereinigung für neue Kunst (Frankfurt Association for New Art) and held at the bookstore Reitz & Köhler in June 1919. Most of the works on display were lent by the artist or were from the collection of Fridel Battenberg's brother, Walter Carl. See exhibition pamphlet, illustrated in Hille 1994, p. 249.

14. Schmidt (note 13); English in Haxthausen (note 3), p. 69.
15. Heinrich Simon, "Max Beckmann," *Das Kunstblatt* 9 (Sept. 1919), p. 258.
16. Barbara Buenger compared Beckmann's 1918 statement (see note 17) to that of expressionist contemporaries such as the architect Bruno Taut, who often employed similar architectural symbolism. MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 183.
17. MB, "Bekenntnis" (1918), in *Schöpferische Konfessionien* in *Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit. Eine Schriftensammlung*, 13, ed. Kasimir Edschmid (Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1920), p. 67; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 185. "Einmal Gebäude zumachen zusammen mit meinen Bildern. Einen Turm zu bauen, in dem die Menschen all ihre Wut und Verzweiflung, all ihre arme Hoffnung, Freude und wilde Sehnsucht ausschreien können. Eine neue Kirche."
18. Piper 1950, p. 19. For a discussion of the relationship between Beckmann's paintings and architecture, see Olaf Peters, "Der Künstler im Staat. Malerei und Öffentlichkeit in der Weimarer Republik," in Friedrich et al. 2008, pp. 55–65.
19. Piper 1950, p. 19. "'Kurz und gut, wie Sie sehn [*sic*]: ich bin mal wieder ziemlich größenwahnsinnig!'"
20. Karlsruhe 1963, p. 7. Klaus Gallwitz called the wartime *Resurrection* the "picture of all future pictures" ("Bild aller kommenden Bilder"). Ibid., n.pag.
21. G. [Gustav] F. [Friedrich] Hartlaub, "Die Kunst und die neue Gnosis," *Das Kunstblatt* 1 (1917), p. 166. Hartlaub did not mention Beckmann here, but it is likely that the artist would have known the article, given the journal's prominence. Hille 1994, p. 233. For more on the exhibition and Hartlaub's thinking, see Hille 1994, pp. 38–56.
22. Hille 1994, p. 38.
23. MB to Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, Sept. 3, 1917, Archives, Kunsthalle Mannheim, cited in ibid., p. 234. ". . . da ich eine Anzahl von Jahren neue Bilder nicht ausstellen will um in Ruhe ein bestimmtes Ziel zu erreichen, das ich mir gesetzt habe." Piper remembered Beckmann saying in 1917 that he did not want to exhibit for at least three years. Piper 1950, p. 19.
24. MB to Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, Sept. 8, 1917, Archives, Kunsthalle Mannheim, cited in Hille 1994, p. 235. "Meine Zeit ist noch nicht gekommen."
25. Hartlaub 1919, figs. 37–39. Hartlaub illustrated Beckmann's *Descent from the Cross*, *Christ and the Sinner*, and a detail of the upper-left portion of the later *Resurrection*, noting that this painting was unfinished.
26. Ibid., p. 85. ". . . eine magushafte und doch erhabene Auffassung Christi, wie sie eigentlich noch nie gewagt worden ist."
27. Hartlaub to MB, Mar. 15, 1923, cited in Hille 1994, p. 257. ". . . tragisch, grotesken Zug unserer heutigen Zeit."
28. Hille 1994, p. 245. Nolde, whom Hartlaub saw as Beckmann's polar opposite, even though he believed that their work expressed gnostic ideas equally, was the only other artist to receive similar attention in the 1919 publication.
29. When he became director of the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1923, Hartlaub attempted in vain to purchase Beckmann's second *Resurrection*. Hille 1994, pp. 256–58.
30. See Weinstein 1990, pp. 219–44.
31. On the exhibition, see Helen Adkins, "Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus," in Berlin 1988, pp. 216–35; Hille 1994, pp. 82–155.
32. Hartlaub, response to "Ein neuer Naturalismus?," *Das Kunstblatt* 6 (1922), p. 390.
33. A recent exhibition catalogue, *Chaos and Classicism: Art in France, Italy, and Germany 1918–1936*, ed. Kenneth E. Silver (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 2012), provides an overview of these issues.
34. Hille 1994, p. 260. At first five paintings by the artist, including *Christ and the Sinner*, were on view (they are listed in the catalogue [Mannheim 1925]), but then nine more, including *Lido* (cat. 10), arrived from the Kunstverein in Hamburg and were added to the exhibition. Zingler's Kabinett für Kunst und Bücherfreunde to Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim, July 17, 1925. Hille 1994, p. 260 (ill.).
35. The press was quick to infer the political implications of Hartlaub's "left" and "right" designations. Despite his belief in the importance of social commentators such as Dix and Grosz, the curator purposely avoided including in his exhibition work that might be considered politically controversial. Unlike other artists whose political affiliations (and party membership) were clear, Beckmann avoided making direct political statements about his art. Barbara Buenger aptly described him as a "conservative liberal." MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 181.
36. MB, foreword, in Berlin 1917, p. 3; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 180.
37. MB, "Bekenntnis" (note 17), p. 62; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 183–84.
38. Curt Glaser, "Max Beckmann," *Berliner Börsen Courier*, no. 567, Dec. 4, 1921, cited in Strobl 2006, p. 339. "Die Form ist nicht stilisiert, die Farbe nicht dekorativ gesteigert, sondern es ist mit dem Willen absoluter Ehrlichkeit das Wirkliche dargestellt."
39. Wilhelm Fraenger, "Max Beckmann: Der Traum. Ein Beitrag zur Physiognomik des Grotesken," in Glaser et al. 1924, pp. 56–57.
40. MB, "Bekenntnis" (note 17) p. 62; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 184. "Je stärker und intensiver mein Wille wird, die unsagbaren Dinge des Lebens festzuhalten, je schwerer und tiefer die Erschütterung über unser Dasein in mir brennt, um so verschlossener wird mein Mund, um so kälter mein Wille, dieses schaurig zuckende Monstrum von Vitalität zu packen und glasklarer scharfe Linien und Flächen einzusperren, niederzudrücken, zu erwürgen."
41. Paul Ferdinand Schmidt to Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, May 23, 1923, cited in Hille 1994, p. 345, n. 52. Kanoldt called Dix's early work (1916–19), "wildest Expressionism" and declared that Beckmann had no place in the exhibition. Alexander Kanoldt to Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, Dec. 1, 1925, cited in Hille 1994, p. 133. Kanoldt scholars have remained focused on the issue of surface finish, e.g., what drove Kanoldt's "careful execution" (*sorgfältige Ausführung*). See *Alexander Kanoldt* (Karlsruhe: Staatliche Kunsthalle Karlsruhe), 2001.
42. In 1927 Wilhelm Hausenstein claimed that Beckmann's art had no relationship to expressionism or *Neue Sachlichkeit*. Hausenstein; "Max Beckmann," *Der Querschitt* 8, p. 859. For a critic who saw the change in Beckmann's style in the late 1920s as the end of *Neue Sachlichkeit*, see intro. to Chap. 3, note 3.
43. MB to J. B. Neumann, Dec. 15, 1926, in Harter/Wiese 2011, no. 58, p. 137; English in Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 172. For more on Beckmann's understanding in the late 1920s of how his easel painting related to architecture, see Peters (note 18).
44. A large portion of the early work came from the artist and the collection of Gertrud Simms, widow of Henry Simms, Hamburg. See cat. 5.
45. On the exhibition, see Hille 1994, pp. 264–73.
46. "Die Max-Beckmann-Ausstellung in der Kunsthalle," *Neue Mannheimer Zeitung*, Feb. 1928, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin.
47. Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, "Max Beckmann," in Mannheim 1928, p. 5. ". . . scheint es uns, als ob der lange, mühevolle Anstieg erst jetzt beendet sei, als ob der Höhenweg erst heute recht eigentlich beginne."
48. Käthe Rapoport von Porada to CV, Feb. 26, 1952, copy, May archives, SLAM. See also idem, "Max Beckmann: Der Titan," MS, p. 127, courtesy Städel Museum, Frankfurt.
49. See Buenger 2009, p. 175. Barbara Buenger convincingly argued that the controversy around both paintings was aroused for the most part by aspects of the works that could be read as condemning Italian fascism (see cat. 11).
50. MB to Neumann (note 43). On the acquisition, see intro. to Chap. 3.

Cat. 8

Christ and the Sinner

1917
Oil on canvas; 58¾ x 49⅞ in. (149.2 x 126.7 cm)
Bequest of Curt Valentin, 185:1955

Beckmann completed this painting, the last of a small group of canvases with religious themes, in 1917.[1] Best known in English as *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, it has typically been understood to depict Christ defending a woman caught in the act of adultery, a crime punishable by death in biblical times. Standing at the center, he raises his left hand in peace, while cupping his right hand at an awkward angle, a gesture, as one scholar declared, "without precedent in the Christian iconographic tradition."[2] While the woman's exposed breasts draw attention to her sexuality, she kneels humbly in supplication before her savior. She and Christ are united through the pale color of their skin and clothing. Their bodies merge into a high, narrow triangle. The woman, her eyes tightly closed, appears oblivious to the angry mob that surrounds the pair. At the left, a fence and a soldier contain the tumult, but only barely. The ground on which the figures stand is barren save for rocks (which could be used as weapons) and sparse vegetation. Bodies, or, more precisely, pointing limbs and hands, lead the viewer's eye around the crowded composition. The space is tipped up and shallow, which pushes the crowd forward, implicating the viewer in the action. In the biblical story of Christ and the adultress, Christ's admonition—"He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her"—finally causes the crowd to disperse.[3]

Precisely what is taking place here, however, has been the source of some debate. Beckmann followed neither Christian iconography nor the presumed biblical story of Christ and the woman taken in adultery (John 8:1–8) to the letter. John 8:1–8 situates the event in the Jerusalem temple area, with a crowd that is not an angry mob. Such details led Johannes Beer to suggest that Beckmann had another passage in mind, namely Luke 7:36–50.[4] In this account, a woman, referred to simply as a "sinner"—the same designation Beckmann gave the woman in his picture list—washes Christ's feet and anoints them with salve. While this could also explain the female figure's stance in Beckmann's painting, her actions do not imply ritual washing, but rather prayer. The ambiguity of the depiction, as well as Beckmann's more general title, suggests that the artist purposely eschewed the specifics of either biblical source, but rather combined elements of the two distinct episodes as well as his own ideas. For example, the savior's physical appearance here—his receding hairline, lack of beard, and pronounced chin—has been likened to the way the artist looks in contemporary self-portraits.[5] As his career progressed, Beckmann repeatedly drew from religious and mythological sources to create what has been considered a nearly indecipherable personal iconography.

The painting is overwhelmingly gray but by no means devoid of color. In addition to light brown tones, bright hues—the red-orange of the woman's veil and eyelids, the cap of the soldier in the background, the more thickly painted blue of the tunic of the soldier seen from the back, the yellow moon, the pink cap on the man at the right, and the hazy red that outlines the figures—punctuate the composition and subtly modulate its overall grisaille tonality. Nonetheless, the palette remains cool, the mostly ashen faces of the figures benefiting little from the small doses of warmth the color accents provide.[6] *Christ and the Sinner* exhibits a thin application of paint and concentrated arrangement of forms that are distinct from the impastos of greens, browns, purples, and gold and the more diffuse compositions that characterize the artist's prewar works. In a 1919 letter to art critic and historian Julius Meier-Graefe, Beckmann expressed his continuing concern with the issues of space that plagued him from early on (see Chapter 1). He described the primary aim of his recent work as "to arrive again at a clear and absolutely firm form. Roundness in the surface, depth in the sensation of the surface. The architecture of the pictures."[7] When his religious-themed paintings debuted in 1919, they were frequently compared to fifteenth- and sixteenth-century German art, including the work of Matthias Grünewald, especially his monumental Isenheim Altarpiece (1512–16; Unterlinden Museum, Colmar). In a credo he wrote in 1918, Beckmann named Gabriel Mäleßkircher, Grünewald, and Pieter Bruegel the Elder, followed by Paul Cézanne and Vincent van Gogh, as artists whose works exhibit the "transcendental objectivity" (*transzendenten Sachlichkeit*) he sought to achieve.[8]

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Beckmann insisted that none of the paintings he had done during and immediately after World War I be exhibited until all were complete. These paintings exhibit a cohesiveness of style that suggests he likely worked on them at the same time, and, as he was known to do later as well, left certain compositional changes to the very end. The sole known sketch for *Christ and the Sinner* (fig. 8/1) is very similar to the final composition, but an X-ray of the canvas (fig. 8/2) reveals the face of a large-eyed, dwarflike figure not present in the painting. This character was painted over to restore space between the upward-pointing finger of the man behind Christ and the smug figure wearing a soiled apron and red cap who signals dismissively in the general direction of the half-robed woman, an alteration that introduced a bit of relief into the tumultuous scene.

Christ and the Sinner and *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 19), both executed in 1917, may have been commissioned by the art dealer J. B. Neumann for a "Beckmann room" in his home.[9] That they were conceived to hang in close proximity, perhaps even as pendants, would explain their almost identical size, the similarity of figures and tonality, and shared elements such

Fig. 8/1. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Christ and the Sinner,"* 1917. Graphite on paper; 16.8 x 14.6 cm. Private collection.

as the barren ground. Whether or not Neumann commissioned the works, he agreed to forgo his claim to them when institutions expressed serious interest, retaining, however, exhibition and reproduction rights.[10] The Städtische Galerie, Frankfurt (now the Städel Museum), purchased *Descent from the Cross* in 1919, signaling the beginning of enthusiastic reception in Germany of Beckmann's recent work.

In 1918 Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, then deputy director of the Kunstalle Mannheim, declared *Christ and the Sinner* to be "the most complete work of art that I have seen in years."[11] At his urging, the museum's director, Fritz Wichert (see cat. 38), purchased the painting for the Mannheim museum.[12] In the 1920s, the Kunstalle Mannheim featured the painting in two exhibitions that proved to be among the most important of the decade for the artist (see the introduction to this chapter), establishing itself at the forefront of contemporary art. But in 1933 the museum was also the site of one of the first attempts to defame modern art during the Nazi period in the form of an exhibition entitled "Kulturbolschewistische Bilder" (Cultural Bolshevist Pictures).[13] *Christ and the Sinner* figured prominently in the display (see fig. 8/3). On July 8, 1937, the painting was removed from the collection by Nazi authorities and reunited later that month with *Descent from the Cross* at the infamous "Degenerate Art" exhibition in Munich. Labeled an "impertinent mockery of religious life" (*frecher Verhöhnung des Gotteslebens*), the two canvases hung in the first room of the exhibition, alongside work by Emil Nolde, Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and Paul Thalheimer (see fig. 8/4).[14] After Munich the exhibition traveled throughout Germany and Austria as a propaganda tool—in reduced and often radically altered form—until 1941.[15] *Christ and the Sinner* was not shown at any subsequent venue, however.[16] Instead, it was set aside, along

Fig. 8/2. Max Beckmann. *Christ and the Sinner*. X-ray showing a dwarflike figure that Beckmann painted over in the composition's upper right-hand section.

with other works deemed salable (*verwertbar*) on the international market.[17] Karl Buchholz, one of four art dealers authorized to work with the Ministry of Propaganda, began to seek buyers abroad.[18] According to correspondence between Buchholz and the ministry, as of May 1939 *Christ and the Sinner* was one of a large number of art objects placed with the dealer on commission.[19] Funds in the amount of the projected sale price were transferred to Buchholz from an "American friend of art" (*amerikanischen Kunstfreund*)—his business partner Curt Valentin—and then to the Reichsbank by July of that year.[20] The painting was likely shipped to the United States around this time.[21]

By the late 1930s, American interest was rising in the modern German art being denigrated as "degenerate" (see Chapter 6). *Christ and the Sinner* was first displayed in the United States in a show at the Institute of Modern Art, Boston, and then at the Buchholz Gallery, New York (run by Valentin). Entitled "Contemporary German Art," it was one of the earliest American exhibitions to highlight works removed from German museums.[22] In July 1940, Buchholz informed the ministry that the painting had been sold.[23] Despite the fact that it was described in publications as owned by the gallery, the canvas, like *Descent from the Cross*, remained with Valentin until his death in 1954.[24] The dealer's will provided that the St. Louis City Art Museum would receive a painting and a sculpture from his estate. The museum's director, Perry Rathbone, selected the present canvas and a bronze by Pierre Auguste Renoir, both of which were accessioned in April 1955.[25]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 95–96.

Fig. 8/3. Installation view of "Kulturbolschewistische Bilder" (Cultural Bolshevist Pictures), 1933, at the Kunsthalle Mannheim. Kunsthalle Mannheim.

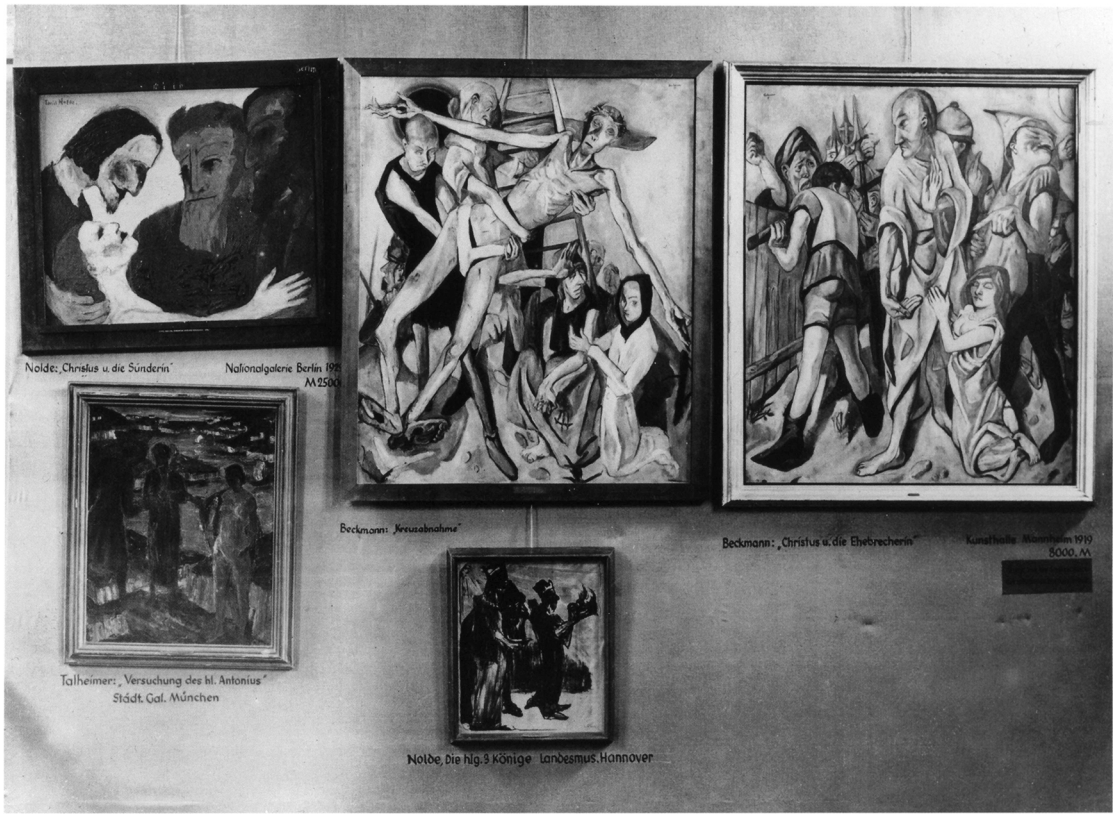


Fig. 8/4. Installation view of "Entartete Kunst" (Degenerate Art), 1937, at the Institut für Archäologie, Munich, showing works by Beckmann, Emil Nolde, and Paul Thalheimer. Zentralarchiv, Berlin.

Cat. 9

The Dream

1921
Oil on canvas; 71⅝ x 35¹³⁄₁₆ in. (182 x 91 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 841:1983

One of the first to craft a detailed response to *The Dream*, art critic Wilhelm Fraenger wrote in 1924, "Among his recent works no other painting by Beckmann confronts us so vehemently with such stubborn self-will, no other forces us to ask so many questions that try to comprehend the inner necessity of the artist's unique form of expression."[1] The painting also challenged its maker from the outset. In 1920 he wrote to his dealer J. B. Neumann, "I think you will be happy to hear that the 'Dream' has come along well and I am beginning to enjoy it."[2] The artist nonetheless remained pessimistic, commenting that his newfound pleasure would no doubt quickly wane and, with it, his current clarity about the canvas. "But today," he continued, "I see it as clearly as if I were sleeping."[3] Contemporaries dubbed the finished work *Madhouse* (*Irrenhaus*), but Beckmann's explicit reference to it as "the 'Dream'" is significant for the subject and the artist's characterization of his working process.[4] In his close examination of the painting, Fraenger tackled the relationship of form and subject in *The Dream*, understanding its subject as inextricably tied to its striking formal qualities and considering both as emblematic of the fear and alienation of the time. The literature on *The Dream* is extensive, and yet Fraenger's early reading has been almost unanimously adopted by commentators ever since its publication.[5] *The Dream* remains one of Beckmann's best-known and most thought-provoking canvases.

The Dream depicts five people crowded into a garret. The central figure is a young blonde girl, typically considered to be a country bumpkin newly arrived in the city. She sits on top of a traveling trunk bearing two identical blue stickers with the number "35" and the designation "Lehrter," likely luggage identification tags for the Lehrter railway station, the terminus in "BER[lin]," seen on another label.[6] Her bare feet splay out stiffly. The contorted manner in which she extends her left arm recalls Christ showing his wounds as the "Man of Sorrows."[7] In her right arm, the girl cradles a small, grinning Kasper doll, a popular puppet that puts its hands together as if to applaud the scene.[8] The girl's centrality to the composition suggests a modern enthroned Virgin, caught up in what Charles Haxthausen described as a "veiled, but bitter, parody of an earlier pictorial type: the *Sacra Conversazione*."[9] This modern Christ/Madonna is surrounded not by saints, but rather by an unseemly, profane cast of characters whose afflictions range from blindness to apparent insanity. In sharp contrast to the young girl, whose wide eyes try to take in the bewildering scene in which she finds herself, her four companions do not look anywhere: their eyes are either shut or obscured from view.

In his seminal analysis of *The Dream*, Fraenger paid considerable attention to the complex combination of implied and simultaneously frustrated motion. He saw each element in the compact composition—from an overturned chair to a tilted mirror—as a protagonist intended to lead the eye around the composition, from the powder-cheeked woman in the lower foreground to the top of the canvas and down again. The woman rolls on the floor, knocking over an oil lamp and straddling a truncated string instrument. Yellow streaks, which have been interpreted as urine or straw, flow from her dress. The steep incline of the slatted floor threatens to slide her right off the canvas, along with the upturned chair at the right. Moving on crutches toward the young girl is a figure Fraenger described as "half tomfool, half ghost of the military hospital."[10] The legless man, a common sight on German streets after World War I, is dressed in a Harlequin costume, a green visor crowning the dome of his bald head. The upward movement culminates in a mustached figure, whose progression up a ladder is impeded by ceiling beams. His eyes are closed and his hands are missing, the stumps of his wrists loosely bandaged. Wearing the striped outfit of a prisoner or a sailor, the amputee holds a giant fish in a net under his left arm while extending his right arm toward the ceiling. On the other side of a ladder, a blind man grinds a barrel organ and plays a horn simultaneously.[11] An X-ray suggests that Beckmann reworked the hurdy-gurdy player several times and considered showing him with open eyes. In the end, however, pupils and eyelids are entirely absent, and the handwritten inscription atop the large instrument translates, "Thank God for the light of your eyes and do not forget the poor blind man."[12] Each member of this ragged band of somnambulists, although crammed into a constricted space, remains in his or her own dreamworld, embodying the disillusionment and lack of cohesion brought about by World War I. Beckmann, who compared his increased clarity about the painting with a dream state, had once described the act of volunteering to serve in World War I as a blackout: "When I came to my senses again, . . . [I] noticed that I was wearing the uniform of a medical orderly."[13]

Several dated sketches (figs. 9/1–5) suggest that Beckmann began work on the scene in October 1920, one month before he wrote Neumann about it.[14] The studies' densely packed, vertical compositions share a zigzag structure and often include a prone figure in the foreground. While a few bear the title of the painting, unlike the drawing for *Christ and the Sinner* (cat. 8/1), none closely resembles the final canvas.[15] Significant elements of one (fig. 9/2), for example, such as the moonlit sky seen through a window, the upside-down figure at the left, and the parrot on its perch, do not feature in the painting.[16] As many have noted, the figures' clothing and some attributes in *The Dream* suggest a carnival scene. In fact, many of the elements in the sketches that do not appear in *The Dream* can be

Fig. 9/1. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "The Dream,"* c. 1920. Red chalk on paper; 21.4 x 27.7 cm. Private collection.

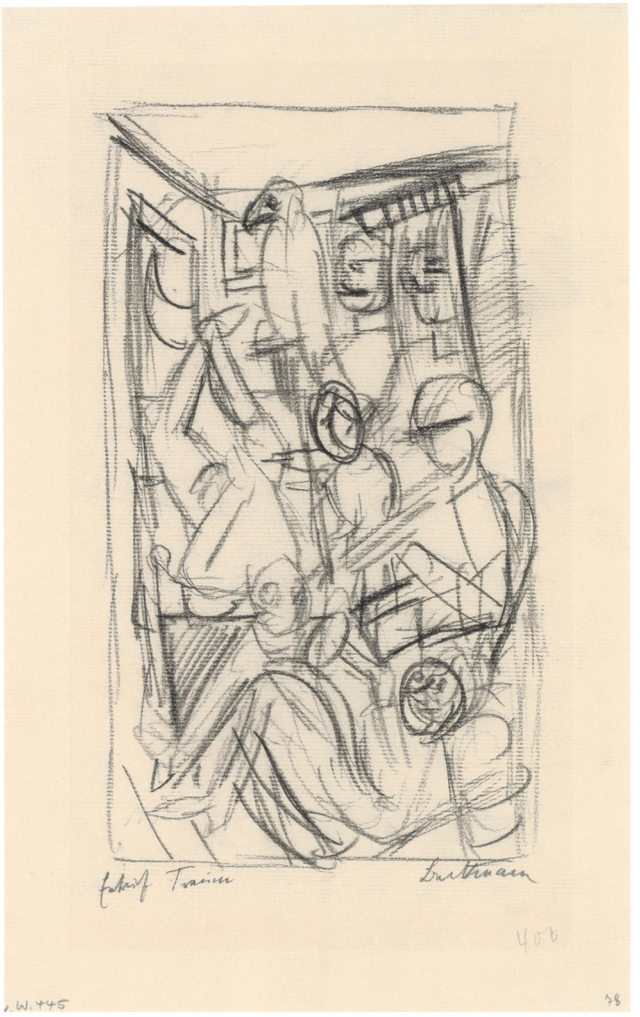
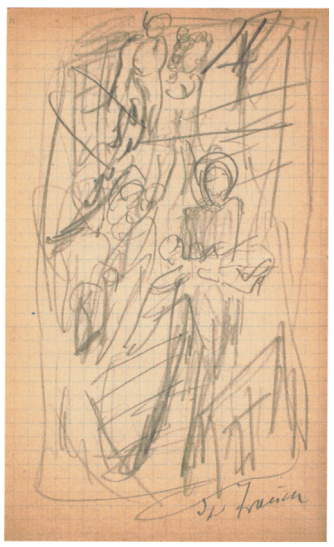


Fig. 9/2. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "The Dream,"* 1920. Graphite on paper; 29 x 18.2 cm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. 1981:23 Z.



Far left:
Fig. 9/3. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "The Dream,"* c. 1920. From Sketchbook 21, 1918–22. Graphite on paper; 15.8 x 10.2 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., gift of Mrs. Max Beckmann, 1984.64.47.3.

Left:
Fig. 9/4. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "The Dream,"* 1921. From Sketchbook 22, 1919–22. Graphite on paper; 20.9 x 16.7 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., gift of Mrs. Max Beckmann, 1984.64.55.3.

Fig. 9/5. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "The Dream,"* c. 1920. Pen and ink on paper; 27.7 x 21.3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., given in memory of Frederick Zimmermann by his wife, Dorothy Zimmermann, 1985.18.51.

found in Beckmann's 1920 painting *Carnival* (fig. 9/6). One of the sketches historically associated with *The Dream* (fig. 9/5) relates—with the exception of the orientation to the left of the seated figure in the foreground—more directly to *Carnival*. Christiane Zeiller convincingly posited that, in light of their similar format, size, and composition, *The Dream* and *Carnival* may have originated from the same pictorial idea.[17] As was his practice, Beckmann sketched the composition directly on the canvas, and X-rays reveal that, except for the above-mentioned reworking of the hurdy-gurdy player, he made minimal structural changes in the act of painting *The Dream*.[18] According to Beckmann's picture list, he completed it on the evening of February 28, 1921.

In December 1921, Beckmann's recent work (including *The Dream*) was on view at J. B. Neumann Graphisches Kabinett in Berlin. In a review, Curt Glaser wrote approvingly of the artist's balanced compositions, in which he treated every element with the same "incredible attention to detail" (*erstaunliche Liebe am Detail*).[19] Fraenger compared the appearance of the figures, resulting from such careful rendering, to that of organs in formaldehyde; rigor mortis also comes to mind. Both Glaser and Fraenger read Beckmann's formal approach as an attempt to harness, rather than give himself over to, the ugliness of the world he was depicting.[20] Fraenger's interpretation of *The Dream* as an allegory of post-war Germany turned precisely on this tension between form and subject. He saw the painting's strict—even "tyrannical"—compositional structure as an attempt on Beckmann's part to control both the grotesque irrationality of dreamworlds and the harsh actualities of hours spent awake.[21] The work's blurring of dream and reality echoes Beckmann's statement that, in the process of executing this work, he felt as if he were asleep, and in sleep had found the clarity the painting needed.

In addition to *The Dream*'s composition, the paint handling can also be understood as offering a counterpoint to the chaos of the scene. *The Dream* is less painterly than Beckmann's

Fig. 9/6. Max Beckmann. *Carnival*, 1920. Oil on canvas; 186.4 x 81.8 cm. Göpel 206. Tate; London. Purchased with assistance from the Art Fund and Friends of the Tate Gallery and Mercedes-Benz (U.K.) Ltd., 1981.

work before the war. His style at this moment reveals his intense involvement with the graphic arts. Klaus Gallwitz described the etching press as "the most important device" in Beckmann's Frankfurt studio in this period. In *The Dream*, the forms are linear and crisp. Indeed, the artist handled his paint much as he executed a drypoint etching, his preferred printmaking technique at the time. The fuzzy quality of the contour of the young girl's left sleeve recalls the ragged edges a burin leaves when used to incise lines on a metal plate (see fig. 9/7).[22] Comparing Beckmann's printmaking and painting, Gallwitz also observed, "The cut of the drypoint in the copper plate and the roller printing on the paper corresponded with the need for contrasts and depth of field [in Beckmann's paintings]. . . . The brush colors more than it paints and helps prepare the formal composition [*Formgerüst*] in a detailed manner."[23] In this period, Beckmann rarely modeled forms using shadow. Only occasionally do light red brushstrokes at the edges of figures distinguish them from their surroundings, as they do in *Christ and the Sinner*. Beckmann's careful application of color in the work of this period also contributes to the ordered appearance of his images, connecting the forms in the manner Fraenger noted. Movement in *The Dream* ends abruptly at the lower left, where the scene is cropped by a canvas seen from the back. At this point, the scene enters the realm of the studio.

Neumann, who had closely followed the work's creation, purchased *The Dream* from the artist in 1921 and sold it by 1924 to the German sculptor Benno Elkan (1877–1960).[24] Like Beckmann, Elkan lived in Frankfurt and may have become acquainted with the painter through his brother-in-law the art critic Curt Einstein. A Jew, Elkan left Germany in 1933 and settled permanently in England. In 1957 the painting was sold through Marlborough Fine Art Ltd., London, and Galerie des Arts Anciens et Modernes, Schaan, Liechtenstein, to Morton D. May.[25]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 96–97.

Opposite: Fig. 9/7. Max Beckmann. *The Dream*. Detail showing the girl's left sleeve.

Cat. 10

Lido

1924
Oil on canvas; 28½ x 35⅝ in. (72.4 x 90.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 842:1983

In 1924 Beckmann returned home from a two-week summer vacation with his wife and son in Pirano, on the Italian Adriatic coast, ready to paint "portraits, still lifes, landscapes, visions of cities that rise out of the sea, beautiful women and grotesque monsters. Bathers and female nudes. In short, a life. A life that simply exists."[1] Several of these elements are united in the first canvas he began upon his return, entitled *Lido* (Italian for "beach").[2] Pirano, seen from a rocky shore located south of the picturesque town, seems to "rise out of the sea."[3] At the center, a female figure walks at the water's edge toward the left; she stares straight ahead, as if oblivious to the waves and swimmers nearby. An odd, androgynous figure heads apprehensively in the opposite direction; a large, thick towel covers his head, part of his face, and his upper torso.[4] The woman's bathing cap and dramatically trimmed robe, like the other figure's striped swimming trunks, represent the latest in beachwear fashion.[5] A photograph of the artist, his first wife, and friends (fig. 10/1) shows the bathers wearing attire similar to that depicted in *Lido*. Behind the painting's two strollers, however, the mood is noticeably less casual. Swimmers are tossed about by foam-capped waves in ways that are both comical and disconcerting. The figure wearing the striped cap looks alarmed: her thick, red mouth turns down, and she seems to raise her hands to brace herself against oncoming waves. The head of the upturned male swimmer to her right floats dangerously close to a rock that resembles a coffin lid.[6]

Fig. 10/1 Max Beckmann (lying fully clothed on a rock), Minna Beckmann-Tube (at the far right), and friends in Pirano, Italy, 1924. Max Beckmann Papers, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, D.C.

In *Lido* Beckmann employed some of the economy of line that characterizes his compositions of the early 1920s such as *The Dream* (cat. 9). The charcoal or graphite in which the artist drew his initial sketch on the canvas is visible. But he created a surface that, while less impastoed than his early works such as *Seascape* (cat. 1), is textured and brushy. Here, as in *The Dream*, underdrawing merges with oil paint, blurring color and softening line. However, as the thickness of the pigment shifts, so do the painting's elements: water translucent enough to reveal a submerged bathing cap may elsewhere appear opaque and hard. The spatial compression of the painting is noticeably different from that of *The Dream*. Rather than piling figures one on top of another from bottom to top, here Beckmann created a narrow, shelflike, horizontal space. Only the tiny buildings in the distance and the fact that the waves appear one behind the other signal recession into depth. The effect is like that of a diorama or a tiny stage on which the drama unfolds.[7] Emerging from the foam-capped waves, which are staggered like the flats of a theatrical set, are various human limbs. The crown of a head and a pair of hands are all that is visible of another figure, positioned between the two people on the beach. As the artist's photographic memento of his vacation suggests, the Italian beach was hardly a calming respite. Tourists flocked to such sites in droves, and, as both *Lido* and the equally disconcerting *The Beach* (fig. 11/4), executed a few years later, attest, Beckmann was drawn to the bizarre and even grotesque qualities of mass tourism.[8]

In 1925 *Lido* was included in the exhibition "Neue Sachlichkeit: Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus" (New Objectivity: German Painting since Expressionism).[9] Despite the fact that this post-expressionist style was largely associated with smooth facture, *Neue Sachlichkeit* was a rubric applied to art of significant stylistic diversity. Beckmann's refusal to work in any one manner and to embrace specific or objective social or political meanings make his art exemplary of the problems involved in defining *Neue Sachlichkeit* as a cohesive style or movement. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, Beckmann played a central role in the exhibition, represented as he was by fourteen works. In including *Lido*, Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub, curator of the exhibition and originator of the term, was likely drawn to a quality in the canvas that Curt Glaser (see cat. 12), speaking generally, called Beckmann's "fantasy of the real."[10] Like *The Dream*, *Lido* elides real-life experience and the fantastical.

Beckmann noted in his picture list that *Lido* belonged to his dealer J. B. Neumann but not when the sale occurred. Beginning in 1926, the artist received a regular stipend from the dealer in exchange for the sole right to sell his work. It therefore seems likely that *Lido* entered the gallery's possession

as part of this arrangement.[11] Noted in catalogues from 1930 as belonging to Neumann's Munich gallery, Graphisches Kabinett, the painting was also listed frequently between 1929 and 1932 as for sale.[12] When Neumann left for the United States in 1923, he put Günther Franke (1900–1976) in charge of the Munich operation.[13] In addition to Neumann and Franke, Erhard and Barbara Göpel listed Heinrich Fromm (1886–1959), a financial backer of the gallery (see cat. 14), as an owner of the painting as well.[14] Fromm, who was Jewish, was replaced in 1935, and the enterprise became known as the Galerie Günther Franke.[15]

How the painting tranferred from the gallery's stock to Franke is unclear.[16] At some point, *Lido* passed to Franke's first wife, the photographer Helga Fietz (née Ebert; 1907–1958). Fietz sold the painting to Morton D. May in 1956, with Franke acting as her agent. When he acquired *Lido*, May said that it filled "a very important gap" in his Beckmann collection and mentioned to Franke his interest in acquiring more work from the early 1920s, including *The Dream* (cat. 9).[17]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 97–98.

Cat. 11

The Harbor of Genoa

1927
Oil on canvas; 35½ x 66⅝ in. (90.2 x 169.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 843:1983

Beckmann made at least five trips to Italy during the 1920s.[1] One of these, a late summer vacation to the Mediterranean in 1926 with his new wife, Quappi Beckmann, inspired a number of paintings he produced the following winter.[2] *The Harbor of Genoa* offers a nighttime view of the city's bustling port from the balcony of the Grand-Hotel Miramare, where the Beckmanns stayed.[3] Situated "above the the railway track of the main station," the hotel is described in a 1930 Baedeker's travel guide as the site of "noisy situations," like most everything in Genoa.[4] Several objects in the foreground signal the couple's presence: a black, tasseled shawl and jacket draped over a chairback, a vase of flowers, and a four-stringed instrument—likely a mandolin. The cold, bright light of an unseen moon illuminates Beckmann's panoramic view of the port below. With steam billowing, two trains enter the Stazione Piazza Principe, moving beneath its curved roof. Ships are docked in a row at the right, their striped smokestacks and dark masts echoed in two large black smokestacks in the middle ground. Boats with tiny gray sails dot the bay. In the background, the domed Basilica crowns the city, whose buildings line the hills that slope down to the bay. A black sky unites land and sea.

While the painting bears the inscription *Genua 27* in the lower right-hand corner, it was not executed in Italy.[5] The Beckmanns' stay in Genoa was relatively brief.[6] In fact, the artist did not start work on the canvas for nearly a half a year after the trip. No doubt because of the time that had intervened, Beckmann bolstered his memory of the scene by referring to photographs and a postcard (figs. 11/1–3), a practice he often followed. The painting combines the view of the station in a

Fig. 11/1. Genoa railway station, c. 1926. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

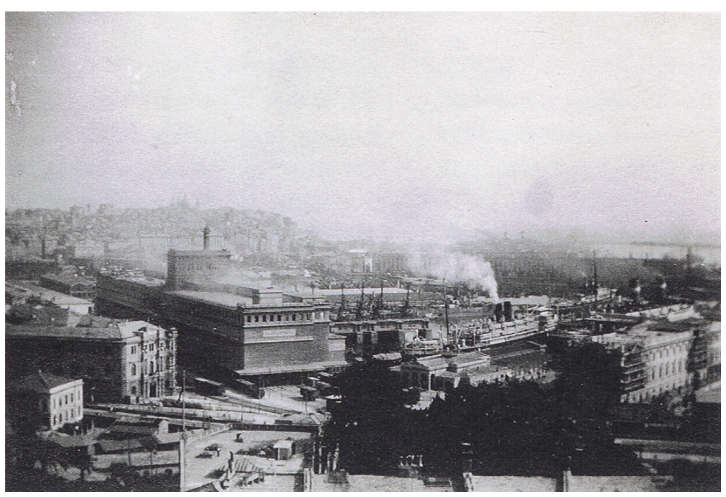
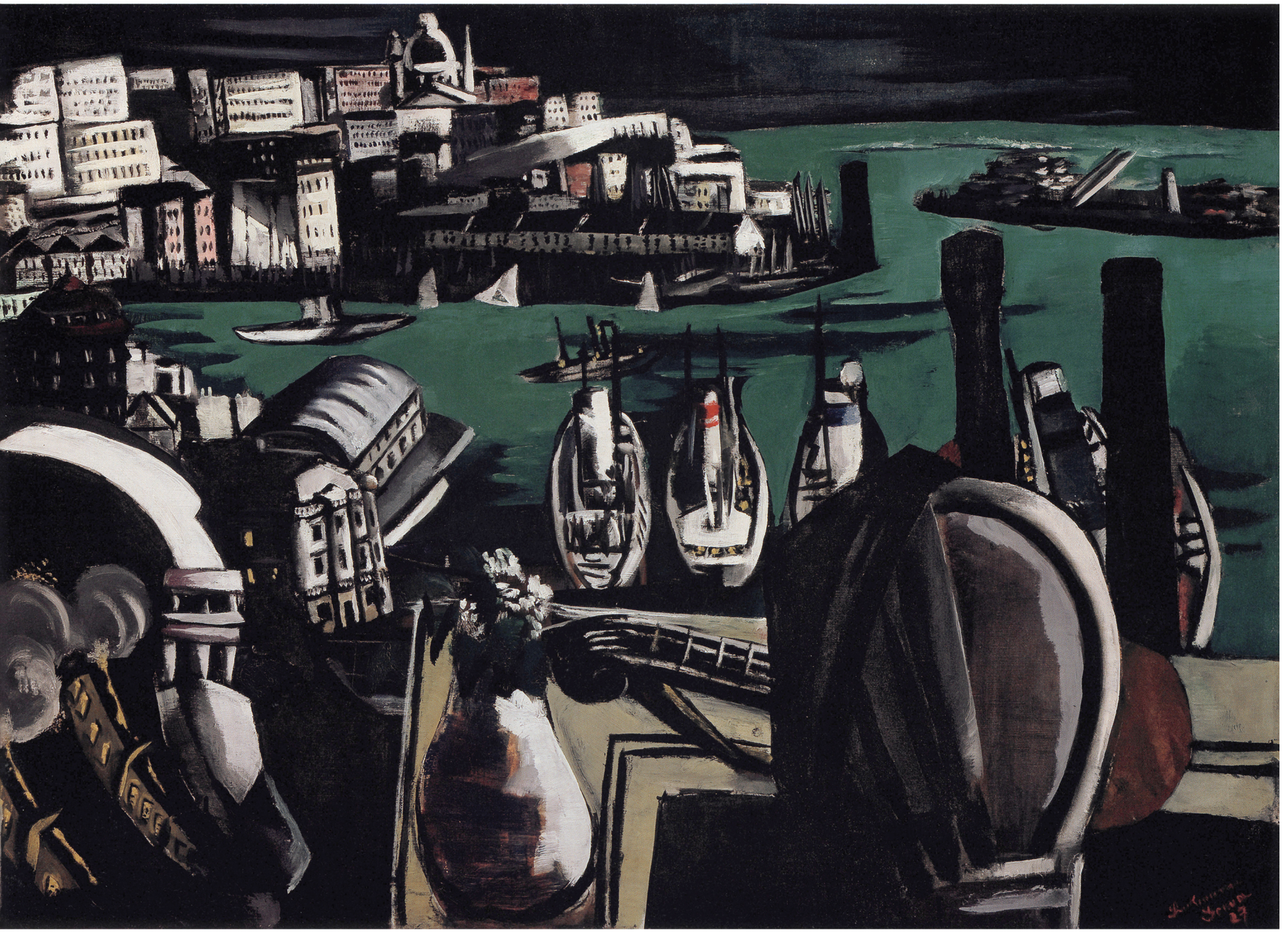


Fig. 11/2. View of Genoa, c. 1926. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.



snapshot and the postcard's panoramic vista with a hotel balcony, open window, and curtain. Tones of viridian, white, and black dominate the composition. Indeed, *The Harbor of Genoa* marks a turning point in Beckmann's oeuvre, for it ushered in a period of canvases distinguished by the use of flat planes of black as definitive compositional elements.[7] Layers of black paint underlie much of the surface. X-rays suggest that the artist may even have scraped away sections of the white primer to increase a sense of darkness in those areas.[8]

Whereas Beckmann referred in correspondence to his Italian sojourns as pleasurable distractions (see also cat. 10), his nocturnal view of this critical industrial center lends the work a quality some have described as "mysterious" (*geheimnisvoll*) or "eery" (*unheimlich*).[9] As Barbara Buenger convincingly argued, *The Harbor of Genoa* and other paintings of this moment must be understood not just as responses to increasing industrialization, but also to Italian fascism.[10] One German critic at the time implied as much, stating that Beckmann's cityscape depicts "modern Italy with its industry and its commerce, with its fascism and its barbarisms despite all the to-do about culture [*Kulturlärm*]."[11] According to Beckmann's staunch supporter Käthe Rapoport von Porada (1891–1985), the painting's first owner, the canvas was maliciously slashed while on loan to the major retrospective of Beckmann's work at the Kunsthalle Mannheim in 1928.[12] Porada later regarded this violent act as marking the "start [*Auftakt*] of the 'Degenerate Art' manifestation," referring to the infamous campaign and exhibition organized by the Nazis in the 1930s.[13] While the

Fig. 11/3. Harbor of Genoa. Postcard. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

precise motivation behind the vandalism is unclear, it may be seen as part of the growing controversy over Beckmann's work. Another composition inspired by the artist's Italian journey, *The Beach* (fig. 11/4), was commissioned by the Frankfurt Artist's Aid (*Künstlerhilfe*) for an adult education/community center, but ultimately was considered too sexually provocative for display there. Having been purchased using municipal funds, it instead entered the collection of the Städtische Galerie (today the Städel Museum), the city's art museum. This acquisition was heavily criticized in the press.[14] Shown at the Venice Biennale in 1930, *The Beach* provoked Italian critics both morally and politically—they were upset in particular by the painting's depiction of a crumpled fascist newspaper, *Popola di Roma*. This reaction reverberated in the right-wing and nationalistic press in Germany as well.[15]

In 1927 Porada was looking for a painting for her Frankfurt apartment, and Beckmann suggested *The Harbor of Genoa*. According to her unpublished memoir, she purchased it sight unseen while Beckmann was still working on it.[16] The canvas was exhibited extensively before World War II. In 1939, when Porada's efforts to organize an exhibition in Paris for Beckmann failed, she decided to show some of his work, including *The Harbor of Genoa*, in her apartment in the French capital.[17] The painting was likely among those from Porada's collection that were stored at the home of Albert Paraz in Neuilly-sur-Seine during the German occupation of that region of France.[18] In 1952 Porada sold the painting to Curt Valentin, who, in turn, sold it to Morton D. May the same year.[19]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 98–99.

Fig. 11/4. Max Beckmann. *The Beach*, 1927. Oil on canvas; 175 x 300 cm. Göpel 267. Location unknown. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

Documentation and Notes

Cats. 8–11

Cat. 8
Christ and the Sinner, 1917

Oil on canvas; 58¾ x 49⅞ in. (149.2 x 126.7 cm)
Bequest of Curt Valentin, 185:1955
Signed and dated, u.l.: *Beckmann / 17*

ALTERNATE TITLE: *Christus und die Ehebrecherin* (*Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*, *Christ and the Adultress*), *Christus und die Sünderin* (Christ and the Sinner), *The Woman Taken in Adultery*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On cardboard adhered to backing board, c.l., on beige label, printed: *Buchholz Gallery / Curt Valentin / 32 East 57th Street, New York / Title & Year* [typed:] *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery. 1917 /* [printed:] *Artist* [typed:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *Medium & Size* [typed:] *Oil 59 x 50½" /* [printed:] *No. /* [typed:] */ 1644* [in green pencil:] *53*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, open-weave linen. In 1964 original support was lined onto a medium-weight, plain-weave linen using Bareco Victory 155 microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-lean vehicular consistency. Some brush texture. Low-to-moderate impasto. In 1964, when painting was lined, PVA-AYAF varnish was applied to aid consolidation. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1964 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied. In 1985 varnish was removed and a matte coating of Acryloid B-72 applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, October 1919, to Kunsthalle Mannheim; removed from the collection, July 8, 1937, by the German National Socialists; sold (Karl Buchholz), 1940, to Curt Valentin (Buchholz Gallery), New York; bequeathed, Apr. 1955, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1917: 161/10) Christus u. Sünderin Mannheimer Kunsthalle Valentin f. Amerika*[26]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 165, p. 67. Göpel 1976, no. 197, vol. 1, pp. 18, 138–39, 519, 543, 554; vol. 2, p. 72 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Hartlaub 1919, pp. 84–85 (pl. 38). Simon 1919, p. 261 (ill.). Glaser et al. 1924, pp. [54] (pl. 17), 77. Soby 1948, pp. 87–88. Myers 1957, pp. 10, 92, 299, [366] (fig. 229), 390. Selz 1957, pp. xix, 286–87, 371, [492] (pl. 127). Erffa et al. 1962, betw. pp. 64 and 65 (fig. 22), 71, 260. Roh 1962, p. 212. Kessler 1970, pp. [117] (fig. 7), 162. Fischer 1972, pp. 15, 39. Gäßler 1974, pp. 3, 171 (fig. 212). Selz 1974, pp. xvii, 286–87, 371, [492] (pl. 127). London et al. 1974–75, p. 43 (fig. j). St. Louis *Handbook* 1975, p. 183 (ill.). Lenz 1976, pp. 15–17, 49 (fig. 12). Lackner 1977, pp. [5], 15–16, 78, [79] (pl. 4 [color]), 80. Buenger 1979, pp. 128–33, 375. Lackner 1983, p. 30. Cologne 1984, pp. 45 (fig. 2), 46–47. Roslyn Harbor, N.Y. 1984–85, n.pag. Zenser 1984, pp. 8, 29, n.pag. (fig. 14 [color]). Erpel 1985, cat. 64/A, 315 (fig. 240), 316. Mannheim 1987, pp. 4, 8, 38, 46, 91 (ill.). Selz 1992, p. 12, [13] (color ill.). Hille 1994, pp. 48, 78, 240–41, 245–47, 251, 252 (fig. 19), 254, 257, 260. Spieler 1995, p. 31 (color ill.), 33, 51, 196. Cologne 1996, cat. 30, pp. 256 (fig. 359 [color]), 320. Selz 1996, pp. 26 (fig. 25 [color]), 27–28. New York 1996–97, p. 32. Bätschmann 1997, pp. 178–79, 180 (fig. 122). Schubert 1997, p. 113. St. Louis *Handbook* 2004, p. 273 (color ill.). Peters 2005, p. 41. Bern 2006, pp. 76, 122. Fleckner 2009, pp. 109 (ill.), 110, 128. Schneede 2009, pp. 65–66, 67 (color ill.). Washton Long/Makela 2009, p. 234. Langfeld 2011, p. 145 (fig. 95). Leipzig 2011–12, p. 112.

EXHIBITIONS: Frankfurt 1919, cat. 6, n.pag. Frankfurt 1921, cat. 5, n.pag. Mannheim 1925, cat. 3, n.pag. Mannheim 1928, cat. 49, p. 12. Mannheim 1933 (no cat.). Munich et al. 1937 (not in cat.). Boston 1939, cat. 3, pp. 10, 11 (ill.). New York 1939, cat. 2, n.pag. New York 1940b, cat. 2, n.pag. San Francisco 1940, cat. 606, p. 83. Cincinnati 1941, pp. 7, 8 (ill.). St. Louis 1941 (no cat.). Chicago 1942, cat. 1, n.pag. Dayton 1944, cat. 2, n.pag., fig. 2. Boston 1946, n.pag. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 6, pp. 22, 24–25, 28, 45, 51, 95, ill. Minneapolis 1950b, cat. 9, n.pag. New York 1951b, cat. 15, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1956b (no cat.). Pasadena 1961, cat. 3, n.pag., ill. New York/Frankfurt 1964–65, cat. 9, pp. 29 (ill.), 30, 32, 50. Hamburg 1965, cat. 9, n.pag., fig. 8. London n.pag, fig. 8, 1965, cat. 9, pp. 25, 44 (pl. 4). Chicago 1978, pp. 22 (fig. 27), 24, 27. New York/San Francisco 1980–81, cat. 321, p. 293 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 8, pp. 24, 27, 76, 77 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 18, pp. 58, 202, 203 (color ill.), 204, 400, 450. St. Louis et al. 1986–87 pp. 8 (ill.), 9. Raleigh 1986, n.pag. Los Angeles et al. 1991–92, pp. 16, 49–50, 203–4, 205 (fig. 163 [color]). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 13, pp. 22, 23, 85–86, 87 (color ill.), 230. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 140, 402, color ill. London/New York 2003, cat. 10, pp. 29, 30, 100, 268, 286. (color ill.). St. Louis 2004–5, p. [3].

RELATED WORK: Fig. 8/1

NOTES
1. Although they do not constitute a formal series, Beckmann's insistence on completing these works before they were seen or exhibited (see intro. to this chap.) implies that, for the artist, they had an internal coherence. The paintings with religious themes began with the unfinished *Resurrection* (fig. 20), followed by *Descent from the Cross* (fig. 19), *Adam and Eve* (1917; Göpel 196), and SLAM's painting.
2. Haxthausen 1985, p. 9.
3. John 8:7.
4. Johannes Beer, "Max Beckmann: Christus und die Sünderin. Der andere Bibeltext," *Kirche und Kunst* 56 (1987), pp. 16–17.
5. Selz 1976, p. 16; Stephan Lackner, "Max Beckmann's Mystical Pageant of the World," in London et al. 1974–75, p. 43. See also Zenser 1984, p. 15; St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 204; Beer (note 4), p. 16; Selz 1992, p. 12; Stuttgart 1994–95, pp. 85–87. Fritz Erpel did not include the painting in his catalogue of the artist's self-portraits. Erpel 1985.
6. Olaf Peters saw the colors as actually heightening the "icy cold" of the painting. Peters 2005, p. 41.
7. MB to Julius Meier-Graefe, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, mid-Mar. 1919, no. 172, p. 177. ". . . wieder zu einer klaren und absolut festen Form zu kommen. Die Rundheit in der Fläche, die Tiefe im Gefühl der Fläche. Die Architektur der Bilder."
8. MB, "Bekenntnis," (1918), in *Schöpferische Konfessionien* in *Tribüne der Kunst und Zeit. Eine Schriftensammlung* 13, ed. Kasimir Edschmid (Berlin: Erich Reiß, 1920), p. 66; English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 185. In Beckmann's day, the Master of the Tegernsee Altar was known (incorrectly) as Mäleßkircher; see MB, ibid., pp. 379–80, n. 13. Barbara Buenger posited that Hans Multscher's Wurzach Altarpiece (1437; Gemäldegalerie, Berlin), with which the artist was likely familiar, also influenced *Christ and the Sinner*. Buenger 1976, pp. 131–33, figs. 82–83. The artist owned a copy of Curt Glaser's 1916 publication on German old masters, *Zwei Jahrhunderte deutscher Malerei*, which Buenger believed to be an additional resource. MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 11. Although Bruegel's grisaille *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery* (1565; Courtauld Institute of Art, London) may not have been a direct precedent, Beckmann's reduced palette, the rocks in the foreground, and the jumble of people (the crowd in Bruegel's work extends indefinitely into a dark background) all reflect the art of the Flemish master. On Apr. 26, 1917, Beckmann received from Reinhard Piper a copy of Wilhelm Hausenstein's *Bauern-Bruegel* (1910), which, however, does not include *Christ and the Woman Taken in Adultery*. Beckmann/Schaffer 1992, p. 482.
9. J. B. Neumann to Georg Swarenzski, Oct. 29, 1918, Städelarchiv, Frankfurt, Acta Malerei N-Q 1913, cited in Hille 1994, pp. 251, 378, n. 123. "Die beiden Bilder waren für ein Beckmannraum in meiner Wohnung bestimmt." (Both pictures were intended for a Beckmann room in my apartment.) MoMA's online provenance notes that *Descent from the Cross* was acquired by Georg Hartmann, Frankfurt, in 1918, but then was returned to the painter. http://www.moma.org/collection/provenance/provenance_object.php?object_id=79759. Accessed Feb. 3, 2012. According to Sara Eskilsson Wergwik, although Hartmann did purchase and return *Descent*, the evidence for his having commissioned it is anecdotal. Wergwik, "Ein Gemälde geht ins Exil: Auf den Spuren der 'Kreuzabnahme' von Max Beckmann," in Fleckner 2009, pp. 108–9.
10. Neumann to Swarenzski (note 9).
11. Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub to Fritz Wichert, Sept. 23, 1918, NLW.SAM/91, Wichert Estate, Kunsthalle Mannheim, cited in Hille 1994, p. 240. "Wäre ich Sie, ich würde Ehebrecherin (die kompleteste Kunstwerk, das ich seit Jahren gesehen habe) sofort erwerben." (If I were you, I would acquire Adulteress [the most complete work of art that I have seen in years] right away.)
12. See MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, 1919: July 11, July 19, Oct. 2, Oct. 26, Oct. 29; nos. 175–79, pp. 180–82. The corresponding letters from Wichert and Hartlaub are in the archives of the Kunsthalle Mannheim.
13. Christoph Zuschlag, "Die Ausstellung 'Kulturbolschewistische Bilder' in Mannheim 1933—Inszenierung und Presseberichterstattung . . . ," in Blume/Scholz 1999, pp. 224–36.
14. The exhibition was on view from July 19 to Nov. 30, 1937. For more on the Munich exhibition, see Los Angeles et al. 1991–92; Zuschlag 1995, pp. 169–204; Schuster 1998. See also Chap. 4.

15. For a thorough account of the traveling exhibition, see Zuschlag 1995, pp. 222–99. The venues were Berlin, Leipzig, Düsseldorf, Salzburg, Hamburg, Stettin, Weimar, Vienna, Frankfurt, Chemnitz, Waldenburg, and Halle an der Saale.
16. Nine works by Beckmann, including *Descent from the Cross*, were included in the show's second venue, Berlin. Katrin Engelhardt, "Die Ausstellung Entartete Kunst in Berlin 1938," in Fleckner 2007, pp. 161–62.
17. After the show closed in Munich, exhibited works went into storage in Berlin, on Köpenicker Straße. Each was assigned an EK (Entartete Kunst) inventory number, which was typically written in blue crayon on the verso. *Christ and the Sinner* was given the EK number 15936, but the canvas bears no such marking; perhaps the number was removed prior to the work's sale or when the painting was restretched and wax-lined in 1964. According to a 1955 accession record in SLAM's departmental files, in addition to the Buchholz Gallery label, which remains (see Selected Marks, Labels), there was a "No. 4" on a sticker on the canvas, as well as a "6" in white paint and a Kunsthalle Mannheim stamp on the stretcher (the latter with the inventory number 482). The document does not mention the work's EK number. On May 31, 1938, the "Gesetz über Einziehung von Erzeugnissen entarteter Kunst" (Act on Confiscations of Degenerate Art) was declared, legitimizing the seizure of artworks and including a provision permitting them to be sold abroad. For a full transcription, see Zuschlag 1995, p. 211. That summer the Ministry of Propaganda began using Schloß Niederschönhausen, Berlin, to store such work. An inventory photograph by an unknown photographer, now in the Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Zentralarchiv, Berlin, shows SLAM's painting in storage at the Schloss Niederschönhausen.
18. For more on Buchholz's role in the sales, see Hüneke 1987, pp. 101–5; Los Angeles et al. 1991–92, pp. 121–24; Zuschlag 1995, pp. 205–21; Buchholz 2005, pp. 81–97, 108–9; Bormann 2010, pp. 63–65.
19. The first offer for *Christ and the Sinner* (made by a French collector on Jan. 14, 1939) was refused. BArch, R55/21017 Bl. 77, Karton C, Schriftwechsel Karl Buchholz mit dem Reichsministerium für Volksaufklärung un Propoganda, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Zentralarchiv, Berlin. Buchholz requested the Beckmann painting, along with other works, on Mar. 4, but revoked his request on Apr. 13. BArch, R55/21017 Bl. 89–90; Bl. 7. On May 24, after entering into an official agreement to take works on commission (BArch, R55/21017 Bl. 338–39), Buchholz asked for *Christ and the Sinner* (at a price of $120), as well as work by Paul Klee, Oskar Kokoschka, Wilhelm Lehmbruck, and Otto Mueller. BArch, R55/21017 Bl. 294. According to a copy of the inventory of "degenerate art" seized from German museums in 1937, the painting, listed with the EK number 15936, was sold ("V" for "Verkauft") through Buchholz for $120. Harry Fischer Collection, National Art Library, Victoria and Albert Museum, London. I would like to thank Anja Tiedemann for leading me to this inventory, which, according to Andreas Hüneke, likely dates to 1942. Hüneke, "Bilanzen der 'Verwertung' der 'Entarteten Kunst,'" in Blume/Scholz 1999, p. 266.
20. BArch, R55/21017 Bl. 228, 224, 221 (note 19).
21. Exactly when Buchholz received the painting and arranged for its shipment to Valentin in New York could not be determined.
22. Boston 1939; New York 1939.
23. BArch, R55/21017 Bl. 273 (note 19).
24. According to Anja Tiedemann, in an e-mail to the author, May 21, 2013, Valentin personally owned twenty-five paintings by Beckmann. CV to Karl Buchholz, June 10, 1951. Estate Karl Buchholz, Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz Zentralarchiv, Berlin. Tiedemann's *Die "entartete" Moderne und ihr amerikanischer Markt. Karl Buchholz und Curt Valentin als Händler verfemter Kunst* (Berlin: Akademie, 2013). In his income list, Beckmann noted it as belonging, underscored twice, to Valentin ("Curt besitzt am 21.1.50"). Beckmann, diary, Columbia University, New York.
25. In November 1954, Perry Rathbone corresponded with Jane Wade at the Curt Valentin Gallery regarding the selection of works. Curt Valentin Papers, III.D.4, Archives, MoMA. A list, "Curt Valentin Bequests," includes the price originally paid for the painting ("cost price"): $120. Valentin Papers, VII.A.I, Archives, MoMA. See also "A Very Important Bequest," City Art Museum poster, Apr. 1955, SLAM Archives.
26. Although Beckmann titled the painting "Christus und Sünderin" (Christ and Sinner) in his picture list, the article "the" has been added to the English title for grammatical reasons. The title used here is also found in Frankfurt 1921.

Cat. 9
The Dream, 1921

Oil on canvas; 71⅝ x 35¹³⁄₁₆ in. (182 x 91 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 841:1983
Signed and dated, c.r.: *Beckmann / F. 21*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Crazy House*, *Irrenhaus* (Madhouse), *Irrenhaustraum* (Madhouse Dream), *Traum* (*Dream*)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas overlap, u.l., on white label, printed: *No.* [in red:] *65559 / PICTURE*
On stretcher, u.r., in graphite: *19 1 / 4 / 11*; u.r., in graphite: *64.388*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1958 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory 155 microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-lean vehicular consistency. Brush texture throughout. Low impasto. Artist scrubbed off paint and ground layer in some areas, leaving canvas weave evident. Paint appears stable and secure. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 Vinylite A-70 varnish was applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Mar. 1921, to J. B. Neumann, Berlin; sold, by 1924, to Benno Elkan, Frankfurt, London; sold (Marlborough Fine Art Ltd., London/Galerie des Arts Anciens et Modernes, Schaan, Liechtenstein), 1957, to Morton D. May; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1921: 9 172) Der Traum 28.2.21 abends, Neumann Sammlung Elkan* [added by MQB:] *now in New York*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 178, pp. 19–20, 60, 68, fig. 23. Göpel 1976, no. 208, vol. 1, pp. 150–51, 519, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 75 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Glaser et al. 1924, pp. 35–58, 78, pls. 30–32. Soby 1948, pp. 88, 91. Myers 1957, pp. 10, 299–302, [366] (fig. 230), 390. Erffa et al. 1962, pp. 49 (fig. 17), 50 (fig. 18 [det.]), 51 (fig. 19 [det.]), 27–29, 36, 48, 108, 259. Lackner 1969, pp. 57, 59. Kessler 1970, pp. 2, 81, 86, [123] (fig. 13), 161. Fischer 1972, pp. 26–27, 43, 45–47, 50, 84, 96, 133, fig. 6. Gäßler 1974, pp. 3, 195–99, 200 (fig. 236) (not ill.). London et al. 1974–75, pp. 39, 43, 47 (fig. p). Lenz 1976, pp. 7, 19. Lackner 1977, pp. [5], 15, 17, 84, [85] (pl. 7 [color]), 96, 160, 166. Frankfurt 1981, pp. 91 (ill.), 92. Lackner 1983, pp. 20 (color ill.), 31, 95. Cologne 1984, pp. 51, 52 (fig. 6). Roslyn Harbor, N.Y. 1984–85, n.pag. Belting 1989, pp. 77, 86, 96. St. Louis *Handbook* 1991, p. 197 (color ill.). Selz 1992, pp. 30, [32] (color ill.), 34. Selz 1996, pp. 32, 33 (fig. 31 [color]), 34–35, 50. Peters 2005, pp. 21, 22 (ill.), 23–42, 76, n.pag., fig. 1 (color). Munich et al. 2007–8, pp. 36 (fig. 4 [color]), 37, 96, n. 11, 25. Berlin 2008, no. III 1/1, pp. 170 (color ill.), 171. Lloyd 2008, p. 35 (color ill.), 36. Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. [15], 45, 146, 280–81, [390] (fig. 35). Leipzig 2011–12, pp. 253–54.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1921, cat. 13, ill.* Frankfurt 1921, cat. 16, n.pag. Munich 1921, cat. 14, p. 12. Berlin 1924 (no cat.). Frankfurt 1924, cat. 4, n.pag. Zurich 1925, cat. 25, p. 4. Mannheim 1928, cat. 59, p. 12. Basel 1930, cat. 24, p. 7. Hanover 1931, cat. 8, n.pag. New York 1941, cat. 2, n.pag. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 8, pp. 28, 53 (ill.), 95. Basel 1956, cat. 26, p. 27. St. Louis 1960, cat. 44, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 52, cover (color), n.pag., color ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 50, n.pag., color ill. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 15, pp. 33 (ill.), 35–36, 39, 56, 150; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 15, n.pag., fig 14. London 1965, cat. 14, pp. 25, 46 (pl. 6). Cleveland 1966, cat. 20, n.pag., ill., pp. [30] (ill.), 197. New York 1966, cat. 138, p. 82 (ill.). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 7, pp. 5, 6 (ill.). Bielefeld 1968, cat. 4, pp. 6, 32 (ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 4, pp. 6, 32 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 4, pp. 6, 32 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 4, pp. 6, 32 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 4, pp. 6, 32 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 4, pp. 9 (fig. 4 [color]), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 10, pp. 9, 46 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 16, pp. 46, 86, 87 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 23, pp. 21–22, 25, 41, 60, 111, 210 (color ill.), 211–13, 228, 250, 268, 282, 300, 311, 340, 420, 451. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 3, 10–14, 17, 28, color ill.; Raleigh 1986, n.pag., ill. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 14, pp. 23, 88, 89 (color ill.), 90, 230. Düsseldorf 1997, cat. 75, pp. 24, 27, 40–43, 58, 127 (color ill.), 170. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 167, 402 (color ill.), 73, 87, 97, 101, 104 (fig. 16), 105, 137, 286. London/New York 2003, cat. 14, pp. 33 (color ill.). Cologne 2005, cat. 16, pp. [44] (color ill.), 176. Bern 2006, pp. 41 (color ill.), 58, 123, 156. St. Louis 2011, n.pag., ill. Sydney 2011–12, pp. 60, 61 (color ill.), 301.

RELATED WORKS: *Sketch for "The Dream,"* 1920. Red chalk and ink on paper; 27.8 x 17.8 cm. Private collection. Wiese 1978, no. 442, p. 217. Figs. 9/1–5

NOTES
1. Wilhelm Fraenger, "Max Beckmann: Der Traum. Ein Beitrag zur Physiognomik des Grotesken," in Glaser et al. 1924, p. 35. ". . . in der Reihe seine neuen Werke kein anderes Gemälde Beckmanns sich mit solcher Wucht des hartstirnigen Eigenwillens uns entgegenstemmt, kein anderes zu so viel Fragen zwingt, welche die innere Notwendigkeit der Ausdruckseigenart des Künstlers zu erkennen trachten."
2. MB to J. B. Neumann, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Nov. 7, 1920, no. 189, p. 188. "Ich glaube, daß es Sie freuen wird zu

hören, daß der 'Traum' recht voran gekommen ist und er mir anfängt Freude zu machen."
3. Ibid. "Aber heute steht er mit so klar vor Augen, als ob ich schliefe."
4. *Der Ararat* (1921), in Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 150. See also Peters 2005, p. 23.
5. Olaf Peters for example considered Fraenger's interpretation of *The Dream* to be unsurpassed. Peters 2005, p. 37.
6. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 151.
7. The arm's position is similar to that of the artist's in his 1921 self-portrait as a clown (Göpel 211).
8. See Buenger 1979, p. 157.
9. Haxthausen 1985, p. 11. Haxthausen suggested that Roger van der Weyden's *Virgin and Child with Saints Peter, John the Baptist, Cosmas, and Damian* (1460–64) served as a source. Beckmann must have seen this work in the Frankfurt Städel Museum, where it remains.
10. Fraenger (note 1), p. 36. ". . . halb ein Hanswurst, halb Lazarettgespenst."
11. See Zimmermann 1967, pp. 13–14.
12. See Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 88. "Danket Gott für Euer Augenlicht und und vergeßt des armen blinden Nicht."
13. MB to Reinhard Piper, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Mar. 1923, no. 236, p. 232. "Wie ich wieder zur Besinnung kam . . . bemerkte [ich], daß ich eine Krankenpflegeruniform trug."
14. Wiese 1978, no. 442, p. 217. It is dated Oct. 27, 1920.
15. Surprisingly, even a sketch (fig. 9/4) that could have been made after the painting was complete (it bears a note indicating that *The Dream* was finished in Feb. 1921 ["erledigt Februar 1921"]) has little in common with the final painting. Stephan von Wiese cited four sketches that relate directly to *The Dream*. Ibid., nos. 442–45, pp. 217–18.
16. An upside-down figure features in a later canvas, *Galleria Umberto* (1926; Göpel 247).
17. Zeiller 2010, vol. 1, p. 458. Based on a notebook sketch dated c. 1921, now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C. (Zeiller 2010, Sketchbook 22, vol. 2, p. 532), Anette Kruszyski argued that *The Dream* may have been conceived as a "hypothetical triptych," with *The Dream* at the left, *The Night* (1918–19; Göpel 200) at the center, and *Carnival* at the right. Kruszynski, "Beckmann and the Triptych: A Sacred Form in the Context of Modernism," in London/New York 2003, p. 103. Seeing a similar treatment of space and color, Siegfried Gohr suggested the same, albeit in a more general way. Gohr 1986, p. 46. Christian Lenz rejected this idea, noting the different sizes of the canvases and scale of the figures. Lenz, 2007–8, p. 96, n. 11.
18. Beckmann also reworked the position of the central figure's foot.
19. Curt Glaser, "Max Beckmann," *Berliner Börsen Courier*, Dec. 4, 1921, cited in Strobl 2006, p. 340.
20. Glaser's comparison of Beckmann to George Grosz (see intro. to this chap.) in this regard is telling. The critic Ernst Kállai later described Grosz's approach to caricature, like that to all "art of negation," as requiring the caricaturist to first "identify to a certain degree with the antagonist" in order to most effectively strike at its heart. Kállai, "Dämonie der Satire," *Das Kunstblatt* 11 (1927), p. 104.
21. Fraenger (note 1), p. 56.
22. I would like to thank Bibiana Obler for drawing my attention to the specific graphic qualities of these black lines.
23. Klaus Gallwitz, "Introduction," in Frankfurt 1983–84, p. 12. "Die Radierpresse in seinem Atelier wurde das wichtigste Arbeitsgerät. Der Riß der Kaltnadel in die Kupferplatte und der Walzendruck auf das Papier entsprachen dem Bedürfnis nach Kontrasten und Tiefenschärfe. . . . Der Pinsel koloriert mehr als er malt und trägt dazu bei, das Formgerüst detailliert zu präparieren."
24. In his income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin), Beckmann recorded the sale to Neumann in Mar. 1921 for an inflationary sum of thirty thousand marks ("Verk. 1921 März Neumann d. Traum 30 000"). In Beckmann's picture list, Neumann's name is crossed out and is followed by Elkan's. Elkan is listed as the painting's owner in Frankfurt 1924. For more on Elkan, see Fritz Hofmann, *Benno Elkan: Ein jüdischer Künstler aus Dortmund* (Dortmund, 1997).
25. An owner described as "a great friend of Beckmann's" offered the painting through Marlborough. H. R. Fischer, Marlborough Fine Art Ltd. to MDM, Nov. 29, 1957, May Archives, SLAM. Galerie des Arts Anciens et Modernes closed in 1990. Marlborough International Fine Art to author, Oct. 25, 2010.

Cat. 10
Lido, 1924

Oil on canvas; 28½ x 35⅝ in. (72.4 x 90.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 842:1983
Signed and dated, l.l.: *[Be]ckmann / 24 "Lido"* [first two letters abraded, outlines visible]

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Am Lido* (At the Beach), *At the Lido, In Het Lido (Pirano bin Triest)* (At the Lido [Pirano near Trieste])

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
In departmental files: on cardboard, on browned label, printed: *937 / Kunsthütte zu Chemnitz*; on cardboard, on yellowed label, typed: *MAX BECKMANN / Am Lido 1924 Oel / Privatbesitz München* / [in graphite:] *E7891—W* ["W" encircled]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Probably in 1968 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory 155 microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, possibly applied by the artist. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste vehicular consistency. Brush texture throughout. Low-to-medium impasto. Paint appears stable and secure. Local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1968 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied. In 1985 varnish was removed and a matte layer of Acryloid B-72 applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, c. 1925, to J. B. Neumann, Berlin; transferred at an undetermined date to Heinrich Fromm, Munich; transferred, by 1939, to Günther Franke, Munich; given, by 1956, to his first wife, Helga Fietz, Schlederloh (Icking), Germany; sold, June 1956, to Morton D. May; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1924: 11) "Lido" angefangen ungef. 15.8 beendet 7.12.24 I.B.* [J. B.] *Neumann*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 206, p. 69. Göpel 1976, no. 234, vol. 1, pp. 172–73, 520, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 84 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Simon 1930, p. 8 (ill.). Neumann/Franke 1931, p. 25.* Paris 1931, cat. 6, n.pag. Buchheim 1959, fig. 24.* Fischer 1972, pp. 47, 48, 50–51, 59, 100, [257] (fig. 22). Gäßler 1974, p. 3. Lenz 1976, pp. 21–22, 54 (fig. 17 [color]). Regensburg 1989, pp. 29–30, 65–66, 97 (color ill.). Hille 1994, p. 260. Spieler 1995, p. 56 (color ill.), 60, 62. Schubert 1997, pp. 99 (fig. 8), 100–1, 110. Hamburg et al. 1998–99, pp. 12 (fig. 7), 13. Buenger 2002, pp. 157 (ill.), 158. Rainbird 2003, pp. 99 (fig. 42 [color]), 100. Hamburg 2003–4, p. 122 (fig. 6 [color]). Hamburg 2007, p. 14 (fig. 2). Schneede 2009, pp. 112, 113 (color ill.).

EXHIBITIONS: Dresden 1925 (not in cat.). Mannheim 1925 (not in cat.).[18] Dresden 1926, cat. 431, p. 75. Essen 1926, cat. 3, n.pag. Frankfurt 1929, cat. 3, n.pag. Basel 1930, cat. 43, p. 8, n.pag., fig. 4. Dresden 1930 (no cat.).* Munich 1930b, cat. 180, pp. 6, 77 (ill.). Zurich 1930, cat. 31, p. 5. Hanover 1931, cat. 15, n.pag. Brussels 1931, cat. 3, n.pag. Munich 1946, cat. 73, n.pag. Frankfurt 1947, cat. 9, n.pag. Hanover 1949, cat. 8, n.pag. Essen 1951, cat. 7, pp. 1 (fig. 1), 4. Munich et al. 1951, cat. 43, p. 50. Freiburg im Breisgau 1952, cat. 7, pp. 5, 9 (ill.). Amsterdam 1951–52, cat. 10a, p. 26. Pforzheim 1954 (no cat.).[19] Zurich 1955–56, cat. 20, p. 26. Basel 1956, cat. 16, p. 26. The Hague 1956, cat. 13, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 46, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 54, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 52, n.pag. Pittsburgh 1965, cat. 79, n.pag., ill. Nashville et al. 1966, cat. 15, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 9, p. 5. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 5, pp. 6, 33 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 5, pp. 6, 33 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 5, pp. 6, 33 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 5, pp. 6, 33 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 5, pp. 6, 33 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 6, cover (color), pp. 11 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 12, pp. 9, 48 (color ill.). Austin 1974, pp. 22 (ill.), 43. Fort Lauderdale 1983, cat. 20, n.pag., color ill. Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 35, p. 110 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 40, pp. 45, 226, 227 (color ill.), 228, 422. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 13 (ill.), 17. Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 28, pp. 102, 103 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 15, pp. 25, 90, 91 (color ill.), 230. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 2, pp. 93 (color ill.), 230. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 206 (color ill.), 402; London/New York 2003, cat. 51, pp. 84, 85 (color ill.), 286. Cologne 2005, cat. 13, pp. [41] (color ill.), 78, 120–21, 176. Bern 2006, pp. 72 (color ill.), 156. St. Louis 2007–8, n.pag., color ill.

NOTES
1. Beckmann to J. B. Neumann, Aug. 9, 1924, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Aug. 9, 1924, no. 264, p. 254. Lenz 1976, p. 20.
2. The more general Italian word for "beach" is intended here and not Lido di Venezia, a popular bathing destination near Venice. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 173. Beckmann underscored his intention by placing quotation marks around the title on both the canvas and in his picture list. In catalogues from very early on, the painting acquired the modifier "am," so that it read *Am Lido* (At the Beach) or, in English, *At the Lido*.
3. For the identification of the location, see Buenger 2002, p. 157.
4. Scholars have disagreed about the sex of the figure at the right. Some have argued, despite the lack of resemblance, that the two promenaders represent Minna Beckmann-Tube and Mathilde (Quappi) von Kaulbach. See for example Nina Peter, "The Painter on the Beach: Beckmann's Italian Paintings," in London/New York 2003, p. 84. The artist met Kaulbach after he returned

from vacation. He divorced Beckmann-Tube and the following year married Kaulbach (see Chap. 3).
5. Buenger 2002, pp. 166–67.
6. For Christian Lenz, *Lido* shows Beckmann's continuing fascination, despite the lighthearted, even comic quality of this vacation scene, with tortured or "mysterious" (*geheimnisvolle*) subjects, readily associated with the immediate post–World War I period (see cat. 9). Lenz 1976, pp. 21–22.
7. Buenger 2002, p. 157.
8. Werner Timm, "Notizen zu Strandbildern von Max Beckmann bis zur Gegenwart," in Regensburg 1985, p. 29.
9. Hille 1994, p. 260. *Lido* was among nine paintings that were added to the original show (see intro. to this chap., note 34). It also appeared at the Dresden venue of the exhibition. A label originally on the painting's stretcher ("937 / Kunsthütte zu Chemnitz") seems not to refer to the *Neue Sachlichkeit* exhibition shown in Chemnitz in 1925/26, however. Neither the exhibition's catalogue nor its checklist in the archive of the Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz mentions the work. E-mail from Tatjana Fischer, Kunstsammlungen Chemnitz, to author, Dec. 17, 2010.
10. Glaser et al. 1924, p. 22. "Phantasie des Realen."
11. Dated July 28, 1925, the contract was to take effect on Apr. 1, 1926, and last three years. For a transcription of the contract, see Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 111. Ursula Harter and Stephan von Wiese claimed that *Lido*, along with three other paintings noted in Neumann's handwriting on the contract, was transferred to Neumann as part of this original agreement. Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 98, n. 119. Neither the contract, the artist's income list, nor the correspondence between artist and dealer specifically mentions the transfer of *Lido*, however.
12. The painting is listed in Simon 1930, p. 19, and Munich 1930b, p. 6, as owned by the Graphisches Kabinett, Munich.
13. J. B. Neumann, "Sorrow and Champagne," in his unpublished autobiography, "Confessions of an Art Dealer" (1959), cited in a German translation in Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 312. See also *Briefe an Günther Franke. Porträt eines deutschen Kunsthändlers*, ed. Doris Schmidt (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1970), p. 29.
14. Although the Göpels described *Lido* as owned by these stakeholders consecutively, the painting may have been shared, belonging to all three at the same time. Franke became a full partner in 1930, and Neumann and Franke likely dissolved the partnership before 1933. For more on Neumann and his Munich gallery, see Felix Billeter, "Das Graphische Kabinett I. B. Neumanns in München 1923–1933," in *Münchner Moderne. Kunst und Architektur der zwanziger Jahre*, eds. Billeter, Anja Günther, Steffen Krämer (Munich/Berlin: Deutscher Kunstverlag, 2002), pp. 256–67.
15. In 1935 Franke wrote to Beckmann that he had been able to secure the support of the National Socialist authorities now that Fromm was no longer involved with the Graphisches Kabinett. Günther Franke to MB, Oct. 21, 1935, cited in Lenz 2008, p. 26. According to Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 42, Franke acquired the gallery that year, together with his first wife, Helga Fietz. For more on Fromm, see Bernhard Schossig, ed., *Ins Licht gerückt: jüdische Lebenswege im Münchner Westen* (Munich: Herbert Utz, 2008).
16. In a 1974 speech, Franke said that he had acquired works prior to Fromm's emigration, but he did not specifically mention *Lido*. Billeter 2000, p. 100. *Lido* is listed in Hanover 1949 as lent from Franke's private collection.
17. MDM to Günther Franke, June 11, 1956, and July 6, 1956, May Archives, SLAM.
18. Hille 1994, p. 260.
19. A checklist of works exhibited in Pforzheim 1954 is in MB Archives, Munich. *Lido* is no. 14 on this list; in Göpel 1976, no. 14 is listed as its catalogue number, but there is no catalogue in the archives.

Cat. 11
The Harbor of Genoa, 1927

Oil on canvas; 35½ x 66⅝ in. (90.2 x 169.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 843: 1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / Genua / 27*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Blick auf Genua* (*View of Genoa*), *Genoa Harbor*, *Genua* (*Genoa*). *Le Port de Gênes* (The Port of Genoa), *Gezicht op Genoa* (The Port of Genoa), *Veduta di Genova* (View of Genoa)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, u.l., on blue-and-white sticker, in ink: *E7351.5*.

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Old tear in the upper-left corner was repaired by artist. In 1957 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory 155 microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste-to-rich vehicular consistency. Localized brush texture. Low impasto. Black paint very thinly applied, leaving canvas weave evident. X-ray revealed evidence of artist's having scraped sections of primer. Visual evidence of artist having scraped paint and reworked application. Paint layer appears stable and secure. Minimal local areas of cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1957 surface was cleaned to remove grime and PVA varnish applied. In 1985 varnish was removed and a matte layer of PVA applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, June 1927, to Käthe Rapoport von Porada, Frankfurt, Paris, Venice; sold, 1952, to Curt Valentin Gallery, Inc., New York; sold, Sept. 23, 1952, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1927: Der Hafen von Genua angef. am 4.1.27—beendet am 5.7.27 9 Uhr abends Frau v. Rappaport*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 239, pp. 23, 60, 71, fig. 43. Göpel 1976, no. 269, vol. 1, pp. 195–96, 521, 545, 554; vol. 2, p. 95 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Simon 1930, p. 20 (ill.). Myers 1957, pp. 303–4, 390. Buchheim 1959, fig. 71 (color ill.).* Lackner 1969, p. 54.* Gäßler 1974, p. 4. London et al. 1974–75, p. 33 (ill.). Lenz 1976, p. 65 (fig. 31 [color]). Berlin 1988, p. 319 (fig. 10/13). Belting 1989, pp. 37 (fig. 14), 38–39. Spieler 1995, p. 78 (color ill.). Westheider 1995, pp. 51–52, 78–79, 80, 152, n.pag., pl. 3 (color). Selz 1996, pp. 38, 39 (fig. 38 [color]). New York 1996–97, p. 46. Buenger 2002, pp. 152 (ill.), 153–55. Hamburg 2003–4, p. 27 (fig. 6 [color]). Bern 2006, pp. 104, 110. Leipzip 2011–12, p. 307.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1928, cat. 46, p. 11. Mannheim 1928, cat. 98, p. 13. Munich 1928, cat. 13, n.pag. Frankfurt 1929, cat. 25, n.pag. Basel 1930, cat. 63, p. 9. Zurich 1930, cat. 50, p. 6. Paris 1931, cat. 15, n.pag. Brussels 1931, cat. 8, n.pag. London 1938, cat. 14, p. 10. Chicago 1951, cat. 47.[20] Munich et al. 1951, cat. 54, p. 51. Amsterdam 1951–52 (not in cat.).[21] St. Louis 1954 (no cat.). Milwaukee 1954–55, cat. 2, n.pag. St. Louis 1955a, cat. 4, pp. 4 (ill.), 9. Zurich 1955–56, cat. 32, pp. 27, [44] (ill.). Basel 1956, cat. 27, p. 27. The Hague 1956, cat. 24, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). New York et al. 1957–58, cat. 15, cover (color), pp. 101 (color ill.), 219. St. Louis 1960, cat. 47, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 55, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 53, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 28, pp. 43, 47 (ill.), 150; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 26, n.pag., fig. 26; London 1965, cat. 26, pp. 26, 48 (pl. 8). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 10, p. 7. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 32, p. 36; Munich 1968–69, cat. 30, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 32, p. 36. Bremen 1969b, cat. E2, n.pag.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 7, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 13, pp. 9–10, 49 (ill.). Genoa 1972, cat. 4, p. 54, color ill. Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 56, pp. 134, 135 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 49, pp. 32, 149, 236 (color ill.), 455, 461. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 14 (ill.), 17. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 16, pp. 25, 93 (color ill.), 230. Hamburg et al. 1998–99, cat. 17, pp. 22, 87–88, 93 (color ill.), 98, 178. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 183 (color ill.), 402; London/New York 2003, cat. 54, pp. 87, 88–89 (color ill.), 90, 287. Philadelphia 2009, pp. 321, pl. 110 (color), 537. Basel 2011–12, cat. 18, pp. 16–17, 21, 79, [96–97] (color ill.).

NOTES
1. Buenger 2002, p. 158.
2. Klaus Gallwitz, "Das Meer, meine alte Freundin," in Hamburg 2003–4, pp. 14–15. These include his *Self-Portait with White Cap* (1926; Göpel 262), a small view from a window entitled *Spotorno* (1926; Göpel 263), *The Beach* (fig. 11/4), and *Large Still Life with Fish* (1927; Göpel 276). For more on Beckmann's second marriage, see Chap. 3.
3. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 196; Buenger 2002, p. 155. See also Frankfurt 1983–84, p. 134.
4. *Baedeker's Northern Italy*, 15th ed. (Leipzig: Karl Baedeker, 1930), p. 15. I would like to thank Barbara Buenger for directing me to this resource.
5. Beckmann's picture list confirms that he painted the cityscape in Frankfurt in 1927. Although he noted in the list that he finished it on July 5, a letter to his wife indicates that he was still at work on it on July 14. MB to MQB, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, July 14, 1927, no. 432, p. 92.
6. Beckmann planned to arrive in Genoa on Aug. 17 and expected his wife the next day. MB to MQB, ibid., Aug. 7, 1926, no. 399, pp. 64–65. It is unclear how long the visit lasted, but the next published letter is from Spotorno and dated Aug. 26, 1926. MB to Günther Franke, ibid., no. 405, p. 68.
7. See for example *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* (fig. 21). See Westheider 1995, pp. 51, 79; Hamburg 2003–4, p. 27.
8. With the exception of a window frame, which initially extended the entire length of the canvas, the composition remained largely the same. Although a sense of deep black dominates, certain areas, such as the chair back, exhibit a brown glaze.
9. See for example Spieler 1995, pp. 78–79.
10. Buenger 2002, pp. 152–55.
11. Joseph Popp, "Zu unseren Bildern und Noten," *Der Kunstwart* 42, 2 (Nov. 1928), p. 135, cited in ibid., p. 153.

"Es ist das moderne Italien mit seiner Industrie und seinem Handel, mit seinem Faschismus und seinen Barbarismen, trotz allen Kulturlärms."

12. Käthe Rapoport von Porada, "Max Beckmann. Der Titan," MS, p. 127, courtesy Städel Museum, Frankfurt. In her memoirs, Porada noted that the cut was about 12 centimeters in length and that the artist repaired it himself in Frankfurt. See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 196. A repair, roughly two inches long, is visible in the upper left-hand corner of an X-ray. No further information on the details of the loan or the damage could be found in the archives of the Kunsthalle Mannheim. Hannah Krause, Kunsthalle Mannheim, to author, July 22, 2011.

13. Porada to CV, Feb. 26, 1952, copy, May Archives, SLAM; Porada (note 12). In her letter to Valentin, Porada referred to a controversy over the price paid for "a big still life over the entrance door of the Frankfurt School of Art" as the catalyst for the damage done to the *Genoa* canvas. Her account, written years later, is erroneous, however, because the uproar over the large overdoor painting, *Still Life with Musical Instruments* (1930; Göpel 338), occurred in 1930 and the intended site for the work was the Friedrich-Ebert Schule (not the art school). The first published critique of *The Beach* (fig. 11/4) did not appear until December 1928, whereas the Mannheim exhibition took place at the beginning of the year. *The Beach* was later removed from the Städel Museum and became a centerpiece of the "Degenerate Art" exhibition.

14. For more on the controversy concerning *The Beach*, see Buenger 2002, pp. 165–67, esp. n. 68.

15. Ibid. See also Westheider 1995, p. 52. According to Buenger 2002, p. 155, Beckmann suggested *The Harbor of Genoa* for the biennale, but it was not accepted.

16. Porada (note 12). In his income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin), Beckmann noted the sale in 1927 for five thousand marks ("verk. 1927 Juni Rappo. Genua 5000").

17. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 215.

18. Ibid.

19. Correspondence suggests that the painting was in Valentin's hands by the spring of 1952 (see Porada to CV, note 13). By June of that year, the dealer wrote to Perry Rathbone, director of the City Art Museum, St. Louis, that Morton D. May was interested in trading a painting by Marc Chagall entitled *Temptation*, along with a cash payment, for Beckmann's *Harbor of Genoa*. CV to Rathbone, June 9, 1952, Perry Rathbone Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C. In the end, May purchased the canvas outright and gave the Chagall painting to the City Art Museum in 1954.

20. A copy of the catalogue for Chicago 1951—an exhibition of May's collection—includes a handwritten mention of *The Harbor of Genoa*, but he did not yet own it.

21. The exhibition was on view from Dec. 1, 1951, to Jan. 31, 1952. Curt Valentin said he saw the painting there. CV to Perry Rathbone, Jan. 15, 1952. Perry Rathbone Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C.

CHAPTER 3

Paris Calls

Cats. 12–15

CHAPTER 3

Paris Calls

Following the debut of Max Beckmann's recent work in 1919 (work that, as discussed in Chapter 2, he had deliberately withheld from public view), the artist experienced renewed and heightened success in Germany. In 1927, at the peak of his renown, he painted his iconic *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* (fig. 21). In it the artist stands confidently in formal attire. He presses the palm of his right hand against his cocked hip, his thumb extended forward across his jacket. In his other hand, he holds a thin cigarette loosely between the middle and index finger. Beckmann paid great attention to rendering this hand, with its bent fingers, as well as to his large head. The application of light-colored paint over dark imparts a layered quality to the flesh, suggesting that beneath the skin blood pulses through the veins, several of which bulge to the surface. An unseen light source casts parts of Beckmann's face in deep shadow, an illusion created by the addition of blacks and browns. At close range, the shadow over the eyes and forehead resembles a mask.

Originally slated for inclusion in the 1928 Mannheim retrospective examined in Chapter 2, *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* appeared instead at the concurrent, fifty-third exhibition of the Berlin Secession. The attention it received there justified this decision; many felt that the portrait upstaged the work of Beckmann's contemporaries, such as Otto Dix and Max Pechstein. After its 1913 split with the Free Secession (see the introduction to Chapter 1), the Berlin Secession had continued its exhibitions, selecting its members by majority vote. "By and large the exhibition is the same old thing," declared one critic. "But this year a few new members have been chosen, including Max Beckmann, whose self-portrait proves once again that he is to be counted among the most important of modern artists."[1] "The effect is brutal," wrote another reviewer about the portrait, "but the work is surely in the spirit of the most recent art."[2] In mentioning brutality, this writer was referring less to the rawness of the artist's direct gaze than to the work's formal execution: the often rough manner of paint application and use of large planes of color. In fact, the debut of *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* in Berlin signaled for many a major shift in Beckmann's style, toward the painterly. Said one critic, "Max Beckmann, who has thankfully abandoned his rigid principle of objectivity [*Sachlichkeitsprinzip*], is beginning to paint again."[3] For Curt Glaser (see cat. 12), it was Beckmann's command of color, especially black, that helped him turn the "spasm and tension" (*Krampf und Spannung*) that the art historian believed characterized the artist's previous post-war production into "symmetry and harmony" (*Gleichmaß und Wohlklang*).[4] As has been mentioned (see cat. 11), in 1927 black began to assume a major role as a compositional element in Beckmann's work. "This black," Glaser continued, "is above all else the discovery of Beckmann's new pictures. It is the most difficult of all the colors. But Beckmann masters it these days. . . . His black is not an abstraction of form. It is color and the origin of painterly design."[5] Although the artist had never embraced the formal and critical aspects of *Neue Sachlichkeit* (see Chapter 2), his work was felt to embody both this rubric's climax and, for the critics cited here, its relatively swift "end."

The Nationalgalerie, Berlin, acquired *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* directly from the 1928 Secession exhibition.[6] Having accomplished a lifetime goal to see his work represented in the nation's most important public collection, Beckmann increasingly turned his attention to establishing himself in Paris.[7] Berlin had made considerable gains as an art center since the turn of the century, but Paris remained the gateway to international renown. As discussed in Chapter 1, Beckmann's earliest visits to Paris decisively influenced his development. In 1925, having seen recent French art in Frankfurt and Berlin, he decided to make his first trip to Paris since before the war in order to assess its current art scene for himself. "This morning," he wrote from the French capital, "I was also at the exhibition of prominent French artists Bonnard Picasso Matisse etc. and noted much to my satisfaction that I do it all better."[8] By 1929 the artist was spending much of the year in Paris, living in a rented apartment.[9] Beckmann's main goal was to gain more recognition than that afforded to what he called "the Rosenberg clique" (*Rosenbergclique*): Georges Braque, Fernand Léger, Henri Matisse, Pablo Picasso, and Georges Rouault (all were represented by the Paris dealer Paul Rosenberg).[10]

Fig. 21. Max Beckmann. *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo,* 1927. Oil on canvas; 139.5 x 95.5 cm. Göpel 274. Harvard Art Museums/ Busch-Reisinger Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts, Association Fund, BR41.37.

This chapter examines Beckmann's fixation in the late 1920s and early '30s on the French art scene and his desire for acknowledgment within it. The four paintings discussed here either elicited response from French critics or depict a key figure in the arts at the time. The long-held distrust between France and Germany had eased somewhat with agreements recently worked out by the German foreign minister, Gustav Stresemann, and the French prime minister, Aristide Briand. But Stresemann's death in 1929 created a void in which the tensions between the two nations re-emerged. In light of increasing nationalism in both France and Germany, it is not surprising that French opinion of German art was mixed at best. French critics reacted to Beckmann's first significant appearance on the Parisian stage—a large solo exhibition in 1931—with great skepticism, despite the promotion of Beckmann by his supporters as a European rather than German painter.

"He Was Wearing a Tuxedo!"[11]

Beckmann's triumphs at home coincided with an improved German economy following widespread inflation in the early 1920s. In 1925—the year he rediscovered Paris—Beckmann accepted a position teaching the master painting class at the Städelschule in Frankfurt. That same year, he married his second wife, Mathilde von Kaulbach (1902–1986), known as Quappi. Some twenty years Beckmann's junior, she was the youngest daughter of a distinguished Munich painter, Friedrich August von Kaulbach. As a result of his in-laws' prominence, as well as his close friendship with Heinrich Simon, editor-in-chief of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, the artist's contact with the rich and powerful increased over this decade.[12] He frequently spent Friday afternoons at Heinrich and Irma Simon's home lunching with members of Frankfurt's intellectual and cultural elite. The Beckmanns mingled with such luminaries as writers Thomas Mann, Gerhart Hauptmann, and Fritz von Unruh, as well as Städel Museum director Georg Swarzenski and Fritz Wichert, then head of the city's art school (see cat. 38). In her unpublished memoir—in which she devoted a chapter to Beckmann subtitled "The Titan" (*Der Titan*)—the young socialite Käthe Rapoport von Porada recorded an event she had witnessed at the Simons' in 1924 involving the artist. Beckmann, she wrote, showed up for lunch wearing a tuxedo (perhaps not unlike the one he would don for his 1927 self-portrait), actually a lounge suit more appropriate as informal eveningwear.[13] Despite the guests' reactions—"Some laughed about this misstep!"—Beckmann's "superior attitude" (*Überlegenheit*) impressed Porada. Ignoring what others considered a faux pas and enjoying having "singled himself out by selecting a costume," Beckmann promptly sat down next to the aristocratic Lilly von Schnitzler, who, like Porada, would become one of his major supporters.[14]

The confident, commanding, and fearless character Beckmann projected, both in person and in his art, was calculated to position himself with significant players in the European cultural scene. Through Schnitzler, Beckmann met the Austrian prince Karl Anton von Rohan. In January 1927, Rohan asked Beckmann to write for the *Europäische Revue*, the mouthpiece of the Europäischer Kulturbund (European Cultural League), a politically conservative organization aimed at achieving pan-European cultural unity. That July, just a few weeks before Beckmann began work on *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*, his essay "Der Künstler im Staat" ("The Artist in the State") appeared in the review. It posits how artists and intellectuals might contribute to the formation of a new culture. Beckmann offered a utopian vision of "social equalization" in which formal dress plays an important role. Until the development of "a more precise and elegant example of manly attire," he wrote, the "new priests of this cultural center must be dressed in dark suits or on state occasions appear in tuxedo," as should workers.[15] "The Artist in the State" was accompanied by a disclaimer stating that the editors did not share the philosophical musings of the author.

Given the chronological proximity of the writing of the essay to the execution of *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*, one is tempted to read the second as an embodiment of the first. But the artist's actual positions are further revealed in a satirical proclamation. Before writing and submitting the text that appeared in the *Europäische Revue*, Beckmann composed a ten-point declaration, which he sent to Rohan. While claiming that he had tried to write appropriately, this piece, entitled "The Social Stance of the Artist by the Black Tightrope Walker" ("Die soziale Stellung des Künstlers. Vom Schwarzen Seiltänzer"), was extremely ironic in tone.[16] In it Beckmann pretended to embrace his points, which, he playfully asserted to Rohan, came to him by virtue of a cloaked figure in a dream. The first three read:

1. The talent for self-promotion is a prerequisite for those inclined to pursue the artistic calling.
2. The budding genius must learn above all else to respect money and power.
3. A reverence for critical authority must dominate his life. He must strictly adhere to his subservient standing, and never forget that art is merely an object the purpose of which is to facilitate the critic's realization of his critical potential.[17]

While Beckmann was delightfully tongue-in-cheek here (especially in light of the press's mixed reaction to his strong and ubiquitous presence in the nation's art scene), he was not

entirely free of what he was satirizing. Throughout his career, he cultivated relationships for self-serving reasons. This is demonstrated in statements the artist made in private correspondence. For example he admitted to his Munich dealer Günther Franke that his association with Rohan and his conservative circle "might be useful to us."[18] To the gallerist J. B. Neumann, who was busy promoting the artist in the United States, he boasted, "These people consider me, as you do, to be the European painter."[19] Beckmann's strategic approach to his social activities—whether attending a gathering or posing for a self-portrait in full evening dress—perhaps allowed him to keep the privileged milieu in which he circulated at arm's length. Barbara Buenger aptly characterized the artist as "more a realistic and down-to-earth businessman than an elite 'priest of culture.'"[20] Stressing the theatrical quality of *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*, critics of the period described Beckmann as wearing the smoking jacket like a costume, much as Porada wrote of his appearance at lunch. "The mask of a gentleman" that Beckmann wears in the portrait reflects the bourgeois face of the audience, but behind it, as B. E. Werner opined, the artist remains critical and obstinate.[21] Others, however, were less convinced. Some saw Beckmann's comfort level with such elite circles as compromising his critical distance. Adolf Behne, an art historian deeply invested in the social engagement of art, believed Beckmann's "grand critical gesture" in the painting to be hollow. "His self-portrait: very striking in the glaring spotlight, the pose is of one who criticizes society with deathly earnestness—and yet [he] represents himself in pristine evening wear like a young baron of industry."[22] This polarity of opinion was not uncommon and had to do with the lack of obvious political or programmatic references in the majority of Beckmann's work.[23] "He is afraid of nothing," continued Werner, convinced of Beckmann's critical edge, "but he refrains—and that significantly distinguishes him from a number of more limited contemporaries—from taking up any one position."[24] As later chapters demonstrate, ambivalence—perhaps best exemplified in the artist's 1927 representation of himself as cosmopolite—was and would remain a central element of Beckmann's worldview.

"Beckmann L'Européen"

Just as Beckmann had strategized his career in Germany, he approached Paris in stages, like a carefully calculated "attack."[25] After discussing his plans at length with dealers and supporters, he asked his loyal friend and patron Porada to prepare the ground for his move to the French capital. Porada, who later described herself as being in the business of "Beckmann-Propaganda," had moved to Paris in 1926. She found the artist his first Parisian apartment and, along with other members of his social circle in Frankfurt, provided significant contacts.[26] From 1926 on, Beckmann's work appeared in a number of group exhibitions in Paris, including one of modern German graphic art organized by Glaser.[27] Several years and numerous attempts were required before Beckmann finally had his first solo exhibition there, at the Galerie de la Renaissance. The 1931 event was funded by Schnitzler and the Europäischer Kulturbund. Waldemar George, an influential Paris-based, Polish-born critic with whom Beckmann had established a rapport, wrote the catalogue essay and published another, "Beckmann L'Européen," in his journal, *Formes*. George presented Beckmann as a European who could overcome French prejudice against German art.[28] Except for two works from the artist's pre-war period, the exhibition focused on Beckmann's art of the last five years.[29] Two exhibited canvases now at the Saint Louis Art Museum—*Valentine Tessier* (cat. 13) and *Still Life (with Mexican Figure)* (cat. 15)—were widely reproduced in French newspapers and periodicals.

The show resulted in the acquisition by the Musée du Jeu de Paume, Paris, of Beckmann's 1927 *Forest Landscape with Woodcutter* (Göpel 273), which had the distinction of being the first German artwork acquired by the French nation in decades. Nonetheless, reactions to Beckmann in the French press were often dismissive, ranging from antimodernist to outwardly nationalistic.[30] One critic likened the encounter with Beckmann's art to "a punch in the stomach."[31] Others concluded that the French and Germans lacked a "common yardstick" with which to assess such work: the "temperaments" of the two neighbors were just too different.[32] In an essay in the Galerie de la Renaissance's magazine for art and literature, *La Renaissance*, Philippe Soupault, a cofounder of the surrealist movement, sought to correct the ignorance of his compatriots about German painting. Lamenting that the art of Lovis Corinth was also disregarded in France, he offered specific information about Beckmann's life and work. Soupault praised the harmony of the artist's recent paintings, as had Glaser before him. Beckmann's *Harbor of Genoa* (cat. 11), which was on view at the Galerie de la Renaissance, illustrated Soupault's essay.[33] Other responses were grudgingly praising but ultimately condescending: some were willing to grant that Beckmann's work owed much to their own masters; one went so far as to call him a "Germanic Picasso."[34] On the other hand, criticizing Beckmann's depiction of Valentine Tessier, a much-admired French actress (cat. 13), a writer disparagingly referred to him as the "Fernand Léger from the banks of the Spree."[35] Interestingly, descriptions of Beckmann's art in the French press as "violent" and "brutal" mirrored those of German critics when, several years earlier, they had first confronted *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*.[36] For critics of both nations,

these terms were directly tied to the painterly quality of his work. Emphasizing that "Beckmann is a painter in every sense of the word," Soupault described the artist as "constructing" his compositions; however, unlike an architect, his interests followed "the needs of the painting."[37]

A concurrent exhibition in Paris of art by the Austrian-born painter Oskar Kokoschka (who had left Dresden to reside in Paris in 1924) offered critics a ready comparison with Beckmann.[38] For the most part, neither fared well when compared to his French contemporaries. One critic denigrated the work of both men as "the dance of savages on a battlefield—a battlefield where we no longer fight."[39] A retrospective that included pre–World War I work, Kokoschka's exhibition was dominated by atmospheric renderings of places the artist had visited during his extensive travels through Europe and the Near East (see fig. 22). Unlike *Harbor of Genoa*, with its foreboding palette and heavy, architectonic forms, Kokoschka's pastel-hued panoramas register typographic details in quick, airy brushstrokes and thin layers of paint.[40] One critic described the Austrian artist as an observant "intellectual," and referred to Beckmann as an "athlete" whose brute strength enabled him to model nature to his own liking.[41] For another, Kokoschka was a lyricist, Beckmann a mathematician.[42] George largely refrained in the two aforementioned pieces from formal analysis of Beckmann's work. But in another article, dedicated to Schnitzler, he compared the two "Germanys" on exhibition in an assessment that approaches Soupault's in its emphasis on the balance and solidity of Beckmann's compositions. George asserted, "As much as the line of Kokoschka is weak, contracted, spasmodic, and convulsive, the line of Beckmann is static, serene, and constructive." He continued in terms that call to mind Beckmann's appearance in *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*: "If Kokoschka represents a Germany wounded to death but always ready to bite, a Germany that is an outbreak of infection, an inexhaustible source of mental illness, of endemic psychoses, Beckmann symbolizes the European Germany, turned outward, oriented to the future."[43]

Given the negative reactions of the majority of the French press to Beckmann's solo exhibition and the political and economic unrest in Europe at the time, even supporters of German art asked whether it was appropriate to show his art in Paris, in particular works that had proven provocative elsewhere, such as *The Beach* (fig. 11/4).[44] The close proximity of Frankfurt and Paris may have allowed the artist to lead a pan-European lifestyle, but back in Germany resistance in the nationalist press to his work increased. Even though Frankfurt art-school director Wichert supported Beckmann's art, the two men frequently disagreed. Prompted by a government order to cut costs, in 1931 the administrator offered Beckmann a new contract at a lower salary, perhaps due in part to the artist's protracted stays in France.[45] In protest Beckmann quit

Fig. 22. Oskar Kokoschka (Austrian; 1886–1980). *The Harbor of Marseilles II*, 1925. Oil on canvas; 73.7 x 100.6 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase, 7:1942.

his job but returned after renegotiating terms. An escalating economic and political crisis forced him to give up his Parisian domicile in 1932; despite his many supporters, he had to leave Paris before he could achieve a breakthrough there. In March 1933, the National Socialists removed Beckmann from his teaching position, and he chose to relocate from Frankfurt to Berlin, a larger city where he hoped he could work undisturbed.

NOTES

1. *Neue Preußische Zeitung,* Feb. 1928, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Im großen ganzen ist das Bild der Ausstellung das gewohnte. Aber man hat in diesem Jahr einige neue Mitglieder gewählt, darunter Max Beckmann, dessen Selbstportrait wieder zeigt, daß er zu den bedeutendsten modernen Künstlern zu zählen ist."
2. *Kölnische Zeitung*, Feb. 1928, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Die Wirkung ist brutal, aber das Werk ist sicher im Geist der neuesten Kunst."
3. *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Feb. 1928, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Max Beckmann, der erfreulicherweise von seinem starren Sachlichkeitsprinzip herunter ist und wieder zu malen beginnt."
4. Curt Glaser, "Max Beckmann. Ausstellung in der Galerie A. Flechtheim, Berlin," in *Kunst und Künstler* 27 (1929), p. 226. ". . . die Krampf und Spannung in Gleichmaß und Wohlklang gelöst hat."
5. Ibid, p. 224. "Dieses Schwarz vor allem ist die Entdeckung der neuen Bilder Beckmanns. Es ist die schwierigste aller Farben. Aber Beckmann meistert sie heute. . . . Sein Schwarz ist nicht ein Abstraktum der Form. Es ist Farbe und Ausgangspunkt malerischer Gestaltung."
6. The museum had received *Bark* (1926; Göpel 253) in 1927 as a gift in honor of the art historian and critic Julius Meier-Graefe, one of Beckmann's major supporters, but *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* was its first purchase of a work by the artist.
7. For more on Beckmann and Paris, see Lenz 1978; Gohr 1986; Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99. The latter includes a useful chronology and index of Beckmann's Parisian period. It is worth noting that the press materials for

the 1998–99 exhibition reflected a continuing need to persuade the public that Beckmann "was and is indeed a worthy counterpart to his contemporaries in France." "Beckmann and Paris: Curator's Statement," SLAM Archives. Significant too is the fact that this exhibition also sought to correct the prevailing misconception that Beckmann was an expressionist painter. See Tobia Bezzola and Cornelia Homburg, "Max Beckmann and Paris," in Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, pp. 11–12.

8. MB to MQB, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, July 28, 1925, p. 350. "Heute morgen war ich auch noch in einer Ausstellung der prominenten Franzosen Bonnard Picasso Matisse etc. und habe mit Zufriedenheit constatirt [*sic*], daß ich das alles besser mache." The exhibition, "25 peintres contemporains," was held at Galerie Druet, Paris, from June 2 to Sept. 30, 1925. MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, p. 496, n. 325.

9. In fall 1929, Beckmann rented a furnished apartment at 24, rue d'Artois, close to the Champs-Elysées. A few months later, he and his wife moved to 26, rue des Marronniers.

10. MB to J. B. Neumann, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Dec. 4, 1930, no. 550, p. 185; Harter/Wiese 2011, no. 97, p. 219.

11. Käthe Rapoport von Porada, "Max Beckmann. Der Titan," MS, p. 96, courtesy Städel Museum, Frankfurt. "Er war im Smoking!"

12. For more on Beckmann's Frankfurt period and his social circles, see MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 279–90; Buenger 2009.

13. Anne Hollander, *Fabric of Vision: Dress and Drapery in Painting* (London: National Gallery Co., 2002), p. 136.

14. Porada (note 11). "Manche lächelten über diesen Missgriff!"; ". . . sich abzusondern, eine Verkleidung gewählt zu haben."

15. For an introduction to and an English translation of "Der Künstler im Staat" ("The Artist in the State"), see MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 284–90. For more on Rohan and his circle, see ibid., pp. 280–81.

16. MB to Prince Karl Anton von Rohan, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Jan. 1, 1927, no. 413, p. 76. See also MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 279.

17. Cited in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 282.

18. MB to Günther Franke, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Oct. 1926, no. 409, p. 73. ". . . werden uns diese Leute vieleicht [*sic*] noch nützlich sein."

19. MB to J. B. Neumann, Dec. 15, 1926, in Harter/Wiese 2011, no. 58, p. 137. "Diese Leute halten mich, wie Sie es ja auch tun, für den Maler Europas."

20. Buenger 2009, p. 175.

21. B. E. Werner, "Mensch hinter Masken. Max Beckmann in der Galerie Flechtheim," *Deutsche Allgemeine Zeitung*, Apr. 1928, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Meine Damen und Herren! Hier sehen Sie den deutschen Maler Max Beckmann in der Maske eines Gentlemans." (Ladies and Gentleman! Here you see the painter Max Beckmann in the mask of a gentleman.)

22. Adolf Behne, "Schlichter und Beckmann," *Die Welt am Abend*, Apr. 1928, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Sein Selbstbildnis sehr wirkungsvoll im grellen Licht der Rampe, in der Haltung Eines, der die Gesellschaft mit tödlichem Ernste kritisiert—und doch im tadellosen Abendanzug repräsentiert wie ein jüngerer Industriebaron."

23. An exception is *The Murder* (c. 1927; Göpel 280), a canvas looking back at the 1919 assassinations of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, cofounders of the Spartacus League, a Marxist revolutionary group active in Germany.

24. Werner (note 21). "Er schreckt von nichts zurück, aber er verzichtet—und das unterscheidet ihn bedeutsam vor einer Reihe begrenzterer Zeitgenossen—auf jede Stellungnahme."

25. MB to J. B. Neumann, June 2, 1926, in Harter/Wiese 2011, no. 52, p. 123. "Dort müssten wir angreifen." (We should attack there.) Beckmann's various tactics are cumulatively described as his *stratégie parisienne* (Parisian strategy) in Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, esp. pp. 224–26.

26. Porada (note 11), p. 163. Beckmann visited Paris periodically beginning in 1925, settling there in 1929. In 1928 he asked Porada to find him an apartment in Paris (ibid., p. 161). According to Porada, he found the studio on the boulevard Brune in the fourteenth arrondissement on his own and retained it even after moving to Berlin in 1933 (ibid., p. 179).

27. "Exposition des Peintres Graveurs Allemands Contemporains," at the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (June–July 1929), included etchings and lithographs by Beckmann, along with work by Corinth, Otto Dix, George Grosz, Paul Klee, Kokoschka, and Emil Nolde.

28. Waldemar George, "Beckmann L'Européen," *Formes. Revue internationale des arts plastiques* 13 (Mar. 1931), p. 50.

29. Tobia Bezzola considered Beckmann's decision to show relatively small compositions, primarily landscapes and cityscapes, a conscious move to avoid "appearing too German, too difficult or symbolically overladen." Bezzola 1998–99, p. 141. Nonetheless, large-scale, controversial works such as *The Beach* (fig. 11/4) were centrally displayed as well.

30. See Buenger 2009, p. 193. For an overview of the critical response, with English-language excerpts, see Bezzola 1998–99, pp. 141–58.

31. Paul Fierens, in *Chronique artistique, Nouvelles littéraires*, n.d., scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin.

32. Arsène Alexandre, in *Le Figaro,* Mar. 1931; Fanny Clar, "Un artiste allemand: De l'art et de la discussion," *Le Soir*, Mar. 1931, both, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin.

33. Philippe Soupault, "Max Beckmann," *Revue de la Renaissance* (1931), scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin.

34. Alexandre (note 32).

35. *Carnet de la Semaine*, n.d., cited in Bezzola 1998–99, p. 149.

36. "Petites Expositions," *Journal des Arts* (Apr. 1931), scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Brutale, n'en présente pas moins une certaine distinction." (Brutal, nonetheless possessing a certain distinction.) For the language used by one German critic, see note 2.

37. Soupault (note 33). "Beckmann est un peintre dans toute l'acception du terme . . . toujours soumis aux nécessitiés de la peinture." As Bezzola noted, Soupault, like George, must be considered an "official" critic of sorts. He penned the review as a favor for the Parisian dealer Marie Paule-Pomaret, founder of the Galerie de la Renaissance. Bezzola 1998–99, p. 142.

38. "Exposition Oskar Kokoschka," Galerie Georges Petit, Paris, Mar. 18–Apr. 10, 1931.

39. "La vie artistique: Expositions," *Le Figaro*, Mar. 1931, scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Le reste pour le moment n'est que danses de sauvages sur un champ de bataille—où on ne se bat plus."

40. Kokoschka also painted a scene of Genoa's harbor, although there is no record of his having been there (1932; private collection).

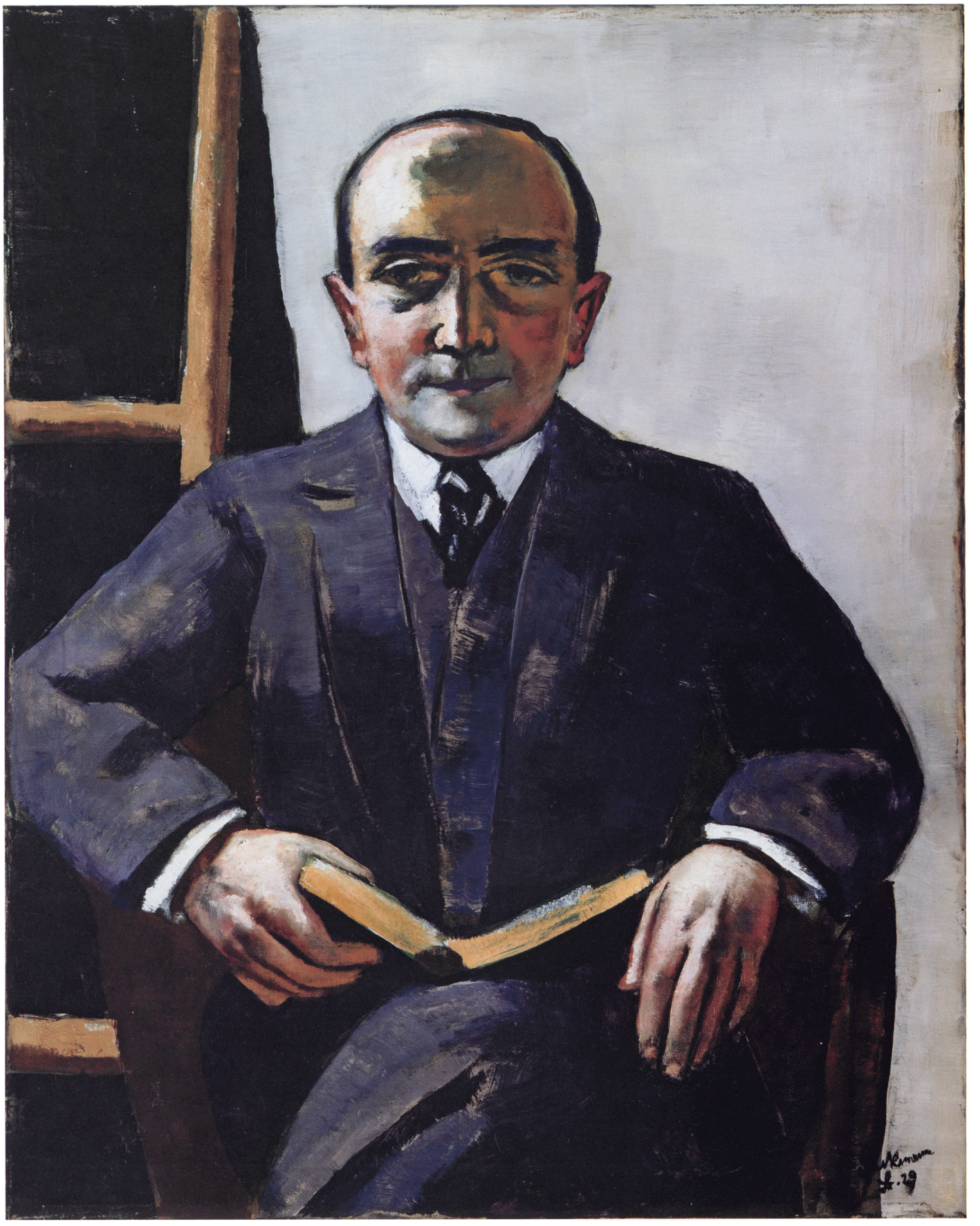
41. "À travers les expositions," *Art et industrie* (Apr. 1931), scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin. "Beckmann, l'athlète, semble considérer la nature comme une masse malléable sur quoi on peut se faire les muscles."

42. Clar (note 32).

43. Waldemar George, "Les deux Allemagnes: Kokoschka et Max Beckmann," n.d., scrapbook, MB Estate, Berlin.

44. Hans Secker, a former director of the Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Cologne, attacked the exhibition, calling it "inept art policy" (*ungeschickte Kunstpolitik*), for he considered Beckmann's art in particular to be "alien" to the French. For more on the German response, see Buenger 2002, p. 170, n. 77; Bezzola 1998–99, esp. pp. 149–54.

45. Buenger 2009, p. 183.



Cat. 12

Portrait of Curt Glaser

1929
Oil on canvas; 37 x 29¼ in. (94 x 74.3 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 845:1983

Berlin-based Curt Glaser (1879–1943; fig. 12/1) was a prominent figure in the cultural life of both the Wilhelmine era and the Weimar Republic. After earning a medical degree, he turned to art history, studying in Berlin with Heinrich Wölfflin, among others. He worked as a curator at the Kupferstichkabinett, Berlin, from 1909 to 1924, when he was named director of the Staatliche Kunstbibliothek. Glaser published widely, and his interests were broad, ranging from European old masters to Asian art and modern movements; he and his first wife were significant collectors and patrons of the arts. His official residence, designed by the modernist architect Bruno Paul in the Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse became a meeting place for artists and intellectuals.[1]

Prior to World War I, Glaser was one of Beckmann's harsher critics (see the introduction to Chapter 1). By the early 1920s, however, he had become one of the artist's staunchest supporters.[2] Glaser's change of heart was directly tied to the seismic formal shift in Beckmann's style at the end of the war (see the introduction to Chapter 2). In an early 1929 review, Glaser praised yet another change in Beckmann's art, commending his new command of color, especially black, which allowed him to turn the "spasm and tension [of the work of the immediate post-war period] into symmetry and skill."[3] Around this time, Glaser commissioned Beckmann to paint his portrait, a genre that, as he had acknowledged as far back as 1912, Beckmann had mastered early on.[4]

In a 1925 letter to his second wife, Beckmann noted Glaser's influence in Berlin.[5] The two men became increasingly close in the years to follow and, for the Kupferstichkabinett, Glaser assembled a nearly complete collection of Beckmann's post-war prints.[6] Glaser's prominence and strong ties to the French art world were not insignificant at a moment when Beckmann was actively seeking recognition in Paris.[7] Hans Belting rightly claimed that *Portrait of Curt Glaser* constituted "Beckmann's programmatic declaration of his place in contemporary art history."[8] As detailed below, the formal similarities between the portrait of Glaser and the artist's *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* (fig. 21) indicate the degree to which Beckmann believed that he and others, such as Glaser, belonged to a select pantheon.

Beckmann spent nearly one month, between April and May 1929, working on the portrait in a rented apartment in Berlin-Schöneberg.[9] Glaser, nattily attired in a jacket and vest rendered in a range of violets, a white shirt, and a black-and-white tie, is seated with a book open across his lap. His composure evokes authority. His large eyes, with their dark-green pupils, look at the viewer as if he were pausing briefly in his reading. Glaser's face is cast half in strong light from an

Fig. 12/1. *Curt Glaser*, 1930. Landesarchiv, Berlin.

Fig. 12/2. Max Beckmann. *Sketch of Curt Glaser*, 1929. Crayon and graphite on paper; 48.8 x 36 cm. Museum Ludwig, Cologne, 1955/8.

Fig. 12/3. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Portrait of Curt Glaser,"* 1929. Charcoal on paper; 49 x 37 cm. Staatliche Graphische Sammlung, Munich, Inv. 1964: 61Z.

unseen source and half in shadow. His trim, compact form fits tightly, albeit slightly off-center, within the frame, which lends to the depiction a degree of monumentality not unlike that of the artist's *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo*. Glaser's ruddy-cheeked face and ears vibrate with life. One of his hands grasps the pages of the book; the other dangles in the air as if to display its own convincing fleshiness. Like the self-portrait, the present painting demonstrates Beckmann's use, in the late 1920s, of layers of color to create volume. Starting with dark blue, red, and green, he mixed paint directly on the surface, completing the skin tone with pink and white for light areas and yellow for dark areas.

For his portraits, whether commissioned or not, Beckmann always did several preparatory studies of his subject. Two existing sketches pay special attention to Glaser's face, with his body suggested only summarily (see fig. 12/2). A third drawing (fig. 12/3) locates the subject in a physical space.[10] He sits in a chair, his entire body visible, and looks down at his book, which he holds in both hands, a slight smile on his face. Glaser is surrounded by a wide array of art objects, which alludes to his broad interests as a scholar and collector. The framed sketch of a tree behind him suggests Edvard Munch's painting *Street in Kragero* (c. 1910; location unknown), a gift from Munch to Glaser, who in 1917 wrote the first German-language biography of the Norwegian artist. The leather chair, the sculptures—an Oceanic mask and a standing figure—and the small table on which they rest resemble those in a photograph of Glaser's study from 1930.[11] In the painting, Beckmann chose not to include the objects, leaving instead a bare wall at the right. The drawing indicates that the brown form at the left of the painting, extending from bottom to top over black, may not represent a ladder, as has often been suggested, but rather a glass door or window with a curtain at the far end of Glaser's study.[12] The finished portrait was displayed prominently on an easel in the residence's large library (fig. 12/4). It remains in its original frame, which was adjusted slightly to

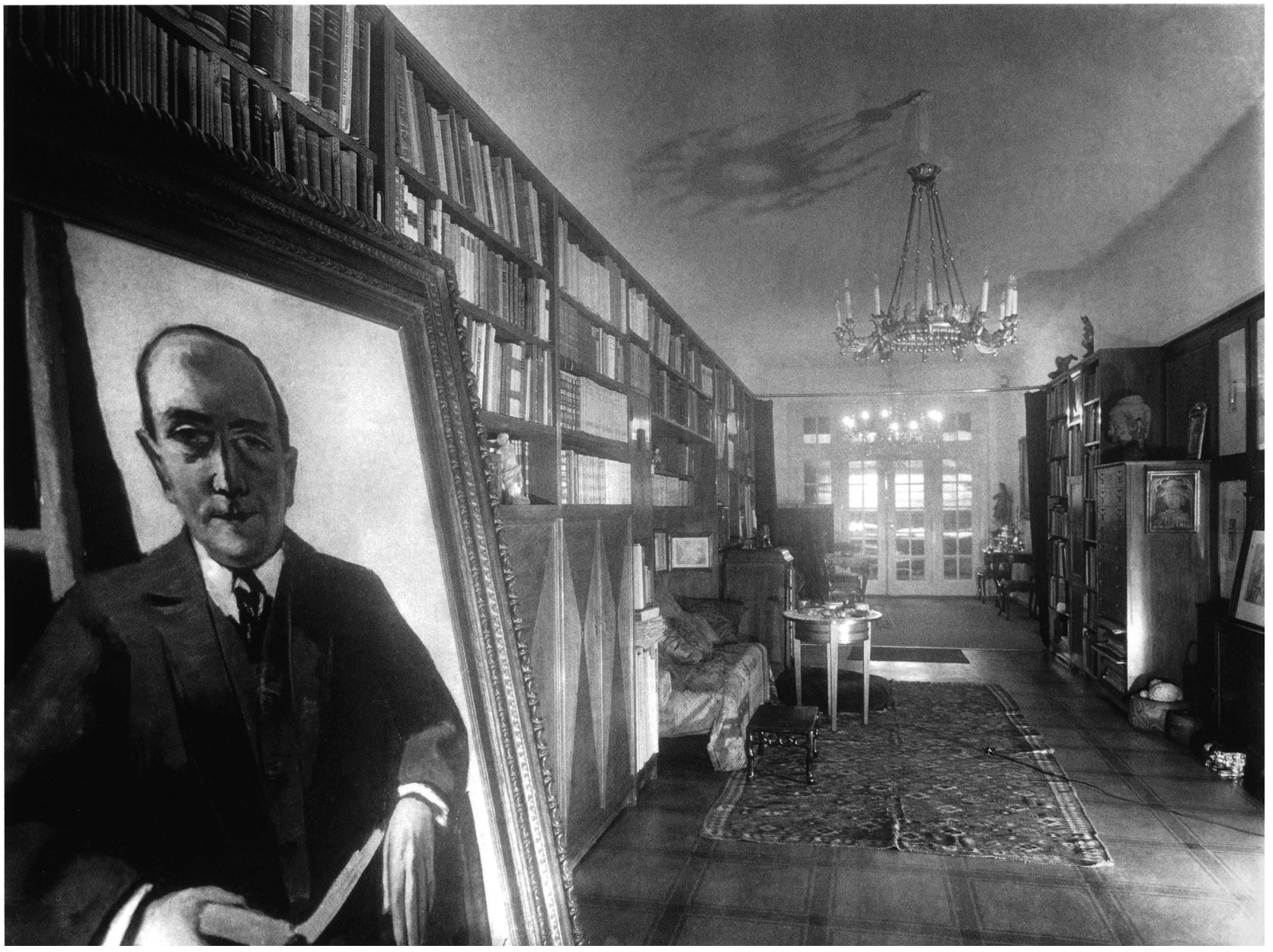


Fig. 12/4. Curt Glaser's library, Berlin, c. 1930. Landesarchiv, Berlin.

eliminate empty space to the sitter's right, perhaps to increase the "symmetry" Glaser praised so highly.[13]

According to Beckmann's records, Glaser acquired the painting in June 1929.[14] He and his first wife, Elsa (née Kolker), likely visited Beckmann in his Paris studio in 1930 and also purchased *Self-Portrait with Saxophone* (1930; Göpel 320, Kunsthalle Bremen).[15] Although he had converted to Protestantism in 1914, Glaser was born a Jew and thus was forced out of his position by the National Socialists in 1933.[16] He left Germany shortly thereafter with his second wife, Maria Glaser Ash (née Milch; 1901–1981), for Switzerland and then Italy. In 1941 the couple immigrated to the United States, where Glaser died two years later.[17] The painting belonged to Glaser Ash until 1957, when it was purchased by Friedrich Arnhard Scheidt (1916–1999). Morton D. May acquired it from Scheidt that same year.[18]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 122–23.

Cat. 13

Valentine Tessier

1929–30
Oil on canvas; 57¾ x 35½ in. (146.7 x 90.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 844:1983

One of Beckmann's favorite pastimes in Paris was going to the theater. On November 8, 1929, a play by Jean Giraudoux entitled *Amphitryon 38* debuted at the Comédie des Champs-Élysées.[1] The Greek legend tells the story of the Theban general Amphitryon, who is directed by his lover, Alcmene, to avenge the deaths of her brothers. The night before Amphitryon returns home, having fulfilled her demand, Zeus arrives disguised as the general and makes love to Alcmene. She later gives birth to twin boys, Iphicles (the son of Amphitryon) and Heracles (the legendary son of Zeus).

Giraudoux humorously added the number 38 to his play's title, approximating the number of times the myth had been staged previously. He reinterpreted it by, in the words of Louis Jouvet (who played Amphitryon), creating "divine characters [that] come down to earth and become human," as well as by giving greater agency to Alcmene.[2] Her role was performed by Valentine Tessier (1892–1981; fig. 13/1). A theater and film actress from the early 1910s on, the highly regarded Tessier was a close friend of one of Beckmann's key supporters, Käthe Rapoport von Porada. Beckmann attended the premiere and returned several times thereafter to sketch the French actress from his theater seat.[3] Tessier did not know that she had become a subject for the artist until after the painting was completed.[4]

The work's title would indicate that it is a portrait, but, inspired as it was by the actress' appearance on stage, it blurs the line between reality and fiction, theater and myth. Tessier wears a blue dress with white trim over the bodice and at the waist. Her right arm is raised as if to support her left, which she lifts to the side of her cheek. The index and little finger of her left hand are raised like horns and the middle two fingers bend, forming a gesture that traditionally signifies cuckolding. As Alcmene she directs this signal, along with the gaze of her piercing blue eyes, toward the unseen figure of Amphitryon. That Beckmann intended to evoke the performances he had

Fig. 13/1. Studio Achay. Valentine Tessier, 1929. Collection Louis Jouvet, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris.

witnessed is further signaled by the billowing, dark-blue curtain at the left. Described as a mix of "Greek architecture and modern cubism," the backdrop of the production was criticized for its rigidity and conventionality.[5] Production photographs show a minimal set, with long, dark drapes used in two acts (see fig. 13/2).[6] In Beckmann's painting, Tessier stands before a pink background rendered in thick strokes. The artist returned to the canvas in a second campaign, during which he added dense pink contours that hug the outline of the figure. Between actress and viewer, Beckmann placed a chair—a device he often used (see cat. 14) to create space for figures to inhabit. On the rounded chairback lies a fur stole, not unlike a prop in the set of Alcmene's bedroom seen in fig. 13/2. The white stripes, which Beckmann added during the second campaign, transformed a plain, brown pelt into that of a wildcat.[7]

Tessier is said to have loved the painting—"Oui, c'est très bien" (Yes, it's very good)—but she noted that details such as the dress were Beckmann's invention.[8] The transparent costume she actually wore (see fig. 13/1), designed by Jeanne Lanvin, caused a sensation.[9] Porada recalled that it was Tessier's "lovely naturalness" (*reizvolle Natürlichkeit*) that drew Beckmann to her.[10] The portrait figured prominently in exhibitions of the period and in reviews of Beckmann's first solo show in Paris, at the Galerie de la Renaissance in 1931. But it was not uniformly praised: one writer, reminding readers of the "grace of this sinuous actress," accused Beckmann of having "transformed this exquisite creature into a lifeless mannekin dressed in a gown of metallic blue with bovine eyes, heavy arms, and the rough hands of a milkmaid. Caricature and treason."[11]

While Beckmann signed and dated the canvas "P 29" for Paris 1929, he actually completed the portrait, according to his picture list, on February 10, 1930. The painting remained with the artist until his death. It was sold in 1956 by Quappi Beckmann to Morton D. May on consignment from the Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York. Viviano, who represented the artist's estate beginning in 1955, showed the painting shortly thereafter in an exhibition that focused on Beckmann's portraits (see also cat. 38).[12]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 123.

Fig. 13/2. Valentine Tessier and Louis Jouvet in Jean Giraudoux's *Amphitryon 38*, 1929. Archives Roger-Viollet, Paris.

Cat. 14

The Bath

1930
Oil on canvas; 68⅞ x 47¾ in. (174.9 x 121.3 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 846:1983

The large-scale canvas *The Bath* depicts a couple in a bathroom from multiple viewpoints simultaneously. The man and the bathtub in which he sits are shown as if from above. Wearing a black bathing cap (in which Beckmann often portrayed himself), he rests against the tub's edges and holds a cigarette in his left hand. Draped over the tub under his left shoulder are a towel and a green form that could be reading material he has put aside. His right leg is crossed as if propped up on his left knee, which is obscured by the opaque, green bathwater. Meanwhile, a partially covered woman, seen straight-on—but with a foreshortened body and a disproportionally small head—stands with one leg raised on the side of the tub, her foot lightly touching the man's arm. It is not clear from her odd pose (with her left hand she holds a towel to her chest, exposing her right thigh and left breast, and with her right hand she seems to extend the towel under her upper leg) whether she is drying herself or preparing to join the man in the water. The size and volume of the towel almost transform it into a third character in the narrative, providing a decorative backdrop for the woman, while at the same time mooring her to the wall and encircling her in a tangling grip. The varying viewpoints, crowded space, and insistent forms create an ambivalence that shifts between intimacy and isolation. This is one of many works ranging across Beckmann's entire oeuvre in which he explored what he saw as the eternally fraught relationship between the sexes.[1]

While *The Bath* is neither signed nor dated, according to Beckmann's picture list it was completed in Paris in 1930.[2] Scholars have generally concurred that *The Bath* depicts a tryst between the artist and Minna Beckmann-Tube.[3] Indeed, the woman bears a strong resemblance to a portrait of his first wife, also painted in Paris the same year (fig. 14/1).[4] Although the couple had divorced five years earlier and Beckmann had remarried, the relationship between the two remained amicable and possibly intimate.[5] Whether the present scene reflects an actual event or was imagined, correspondence confirms that Beckmann met with his first wife several times in the late 1920s.[6] In 1931 *The Bath* was photographed in Paris in preparation for Beckmann's solo exhibition at the Galerie de la Renaissance. It was not included in the show, but it nonetheless graced an English-language invitation.[7] Beckmann's second wife, Quappi Beckmann, later refused to confirm the identity of the figures depicted in the painting.[8]

In 1951 John Anthony Thwaites referred to *The Bath* as "great drawing," arguing that the mastery of color Beckmann had demonstrated in the 1920s had devolved by 1930, in paintings such as this, into "tinted surfaces" lacking solidity and having "no power to build space."[9] Indeed, with the exception of the woman's flesh, rendered with thick layers of pigment, the paint application is largely thin and diluted—so much so

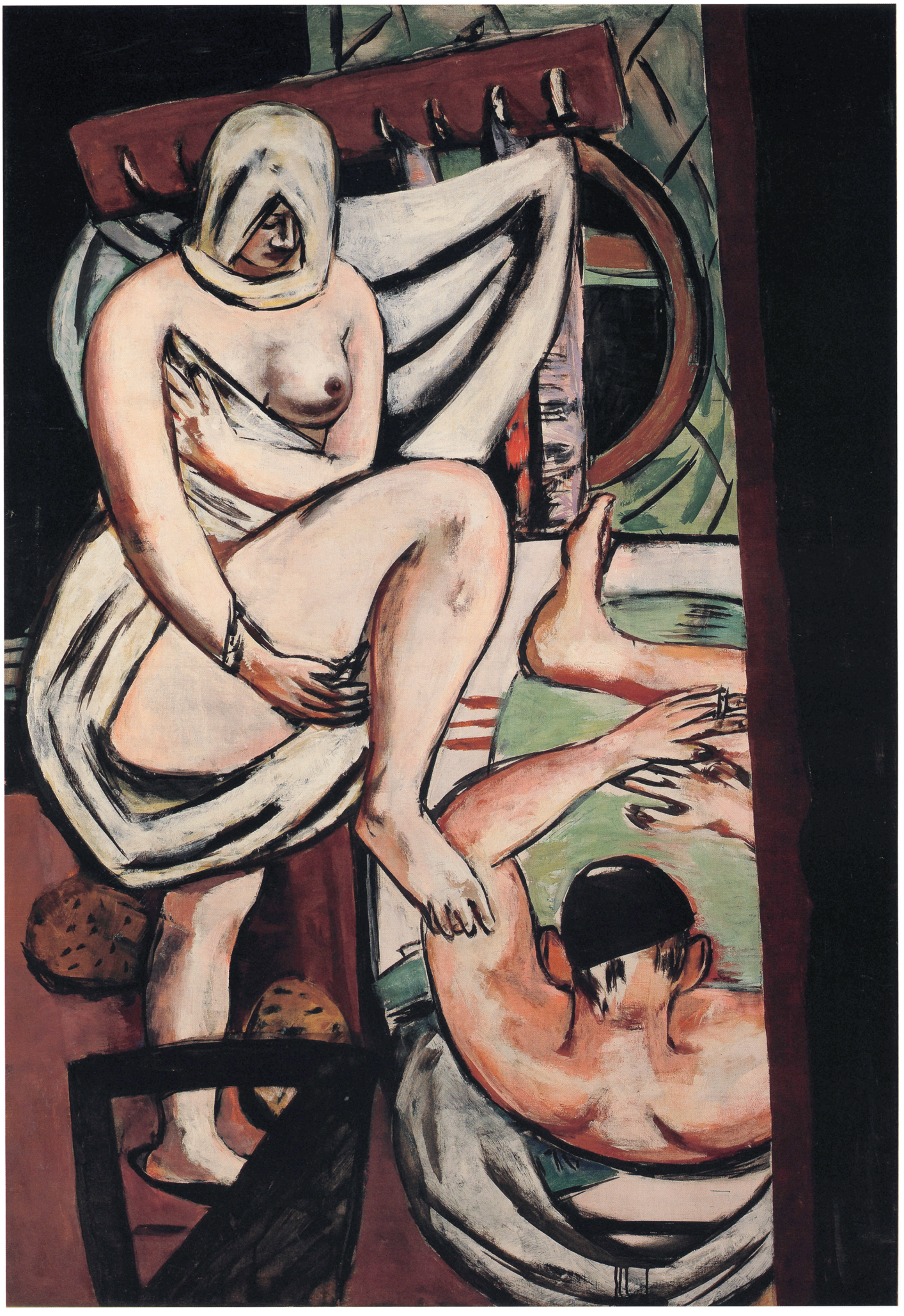


Fig. 14/1. Max Beckmann. *Portrait of Minna Beckmann-Tube*, 1930. Oil on canvas; 161.3 x 84 cm. Göpel 337. Museum Pfalzgalerie Kaiserslautern, Inv.–Nr. PFG 66/25.

that black paint drips from the bottom edge of the cloth draped over the tub. Thwaites, however, seems not to have been sensitive to the ability of black to function as a compositional element equal to that of line, a technique Beckmann's contemporaries praised highly (see the introduction to this chapter). The black form that stretches from bottom to top at the right effectively decenters the scene and separates the lovers from the viewer, perhaps protecting them from intrusion but at the same time increasing the work's voyeuristic and mysterious qualities. Unlike the chairback in the left foreground, which produces a sense of depth, the black shape challenges any attempt to create the illusion of space. As Ortrud Westheider argued, by bringing black—which is often used to suggest depth—to the surface, Beckmann deliberately introduced into his compositions a "spatial indifference."[10]

In his picture list, Beckmann noted the painting's owner as his Munich dealer Günther Franke (1900–1976). In 1931 Franke offered the monumental canvas to the Nationalgalerie in Berlin, to no avail. By 1936 *The Bath* was in the collection of Heinrich Fromm (1886–1959), a wealthy hops dealer who received gallery stock in exchange for his investment in the Graphisches Kabinett, Munich (see cat. 10).[11] By 1935, however, Fromm's participation in the gallery was considered untenable because he was Jewish, and he was replaced.[12] Following persecution by the Nazis (including internment in Dachau in 1938), Fromm left Germany for England in 1939.[13] In 1974 Franke stated that he had reacquired (*zurück erwerben*) several paintings, including *The Bath*, from Fromm prior to the latter's emigration from Germany.[14] The work was definitively with Franke by 1941 in his house on the Starnberger See, Munich, where he often held Beckmann exhibitions for select audiences.[15] To acquire this work, in 1956 Morton D. May not only paid cash but also traded Beckmann's *Still Life with Pigeons* (1950; Göpel 827, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlung, Munich), which he had purchased the year before.[16]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 123–24.

Cat. 15

Still Life (with Mexican Figure)

1931
Oil on canvas; 24 x 12 in. (61 x 30.5 cm) (oval)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 847:1983

Still Life (with Mexican Figure) was painted at the creative height of Beckmann's Parisian period, shortly before his first solo exhibition in the city, at the Galerie de la Renaissance, in 1931.[1] This is one of only two oval-shaped canvases Beckmann is known to have painted; both date to 1931.[2] The prefabricated oval canvas, although reminiscent of cubist formats, does not refer to, for example, a café tabletop, as is the case with similarly shaped works by Georges Braque and Pablo Picasso. Instead, the earth-toned and strongly lit objects are presented straight on and are compressed by the unusual format. A piece of furniture—probably a bureau—is cropped by the canvas's rounded edges. Resting on it are two ancient American objects: a ceramic water vessel with a winding snake motif and a stout form with a carved face. While Beckmann did not compose arrangements specifically for his still lifes, he often drew inspiration from objects in his own home. In the artist's possession by 1923, the serpentine vessel features in a number of his paintings, such as *Studio (Night) Still Life with Telescope and Covered Figure* (fig. 15/1).[3] The mysterious white form in front of the two ceramic pieces is likely a starched collar or choker (*Vatermörder*), commonly worn by men at the time. The hardness of such collars, which resemble folded paper, would have appealed to Beckmann, who aimed to infuse his depictions of cloth with a sense of weight and three-dimensionality (see cat. 14).[4] The half-opened drawer below offers a supply of clean, starched replacements and serves to create distance between the elements of the composition and the viewer.[5]

The stirrup spout of the vessel and its bichromatic design indicate that it is likely Moche, from the north coast of Peru (c. 450/550).[6] The other object resembles a *kero*, a ceremonial drinking vessel most commonly associated with the Inca (1475/1534).[7] Because of its anthropomorphic form, Beckmann referred to the vessel in his title as a "Mexican figure." Although he misstated its origin, the artist had more than a passing interest in ancient American art.[8] Not always concerned with exact identifications, twentieth-century modernists such as Beckmann were attracted to Native American, African, and Oceanic artworks for their abstract, expressive forms, which they saw as free of the conventions of European art.[9] After his move to the United States, Beckmann became increasingly interested in understanding the specific nature of such artifacts.[10] Beckmann's dealer J. B. Neumann—who once owned the present still life—was equally drawn to ancient American art. In 1924 he published a pamphlet, *Artlover*, which included work by Beckmann alongside examples of wood objects from Mexico.[11]

Morton D. May, who purchased the painting in 1955, was a serious collector of ancient American material. It is thus probably no coincidence that, at one time, he owned not only *Still Life (with Mexican Figure)*, but also *Studio (Night)*. Likely aware of the depicted objects' origins and therefore wishing to avoid identifying the ceremonial drinking cup as "Mexican," May adopted the title used by Curt Valentin, "Still Life with Mask," and also referred to the painting as "Still Life with Vase."[12] According to the artist's picture list, the painting first belonged to Neumann, who might have bought it shortly after its debut at the Galerie de la Renaissance.[13] If this was the case, it is not known exactly how and when the work transferred from Neumann to the Curt Valentin Gallery, New York.[14]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 124–25.

Fig. 15/1. Max Beckmann. *Studio (Night) Still Life with Telescope and Covered Figure*, 1931/38. Oil on canvas; 110 x 70 cm. Göpel 510. Private collection.

Documentation and Notes

Cats. 12–15

Cat. 12
Portrait of Curt Glaser, 1929

Oil on canvas; 37 x 29¼ in. (94 x 74.3 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 845:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / B. 29*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Bildnis Curt Glaser*, *Bildnis Prof. Dr. Curt Glaser* (Portrait of Prof. Dr. Curt Glaser), *Bildnis Professor Kurt Glaser* (Portrait of Professor Kurt Glaser), *Curt Glaser*, *Dr. Curt Glaser*, *Portrait of Professor Glaser*, *Portrait Prof. Glaser*, *Prof. Dr. C. G.*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, u.l., in black crayon: *Herrn Max Beckmann / Prinz Albrechtstr 8.*; u.c., in black crayon: *½ 12 Uhr*; u.r., in black marker: *#6548*; c.l., in red crayon: *K10*; c.l., in graphite: *1335 / FM3* [illegible]; l.l., in graphite: *32.—1*; l.c., in faded purple ink: *73* [upside down]; l.c., in graphite: *2057* [upside down]
On frame, u.l., in black crayon: [illegible, partially obscured by Hahn Brothers transport labels]; u.c., in blue crayon: *P674* [illegible, partially obscured by labels]; u.r., in black marker: *BOX 17 / #56*; u.c., on white label, typed: *BOX #6 / #48— "DR. CURT GLASER" / BECKMANN* [in graphite, u.r.:] *#54*; u.c., on white label, typed: *MAX BECKMANN* [in graphite:] *BOX 10 #31 / "DOCTOR CURT GLASER" 1929 / 37⅛ x 29½ inches / Box 10 / NO. 31*; u.c., on yellowed label, typed: *Bild 32. / Dir. Dr. C. Glaser / Berlin, Prinz Albrechtstr. 8.a.*; u.c., on torn label, in blue crayon: [. . . , obscured by another label] *—52* [in graphite:] *—1*; u.c., torn beige label, printed (faded): [Gu]*stav Kna*[u]*er, Berlin / 265 / Kunst*[illegible]; c.l., in red crayon: *K10*; c.r., in black crayon: *3*; l.l., on masking tape, in blue crayon: *K6*; l.c., in red pencil: *F. 1423 / 12* [upside down]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original stretcher and frame. A small paper patch on verso corresponds to sitter's proper left arm. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin. Minimal brush texture, impasto, and cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1975 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing varnish. In 1985 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, June 1929, to Curt Glaser, Berlin, Ascona, Florence, New York, N.Y., Lake Placid, N.Y.; by descent, 1943, to Maria Glaser Ash, Basel, New York; sold (Galerie Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich), 1957, to Friedrich Arnhard Scheidt, Kettwig-Ruhr (Essen); sold, Aug. 8, 1957, to Morton D. May; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1929: Portrait Prof. Glaser. angefangen 20.4. beendet 15.5 (Bei Glaser Berlin)*[19]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 275, p. 72. Göpel 1976, no. 304, vol. 1, pp. 21, 218–19, 522, 541, 554; vol. 2, p. 106 (ill.).

LITERATURE: St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 456–57. Belting 1989, pp. 25–26, 27 (fig. 6). Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin 1996, cover, pp. 58–60, 61 (ill.). Peters 2005, n.pag., fig. 7 (color). Strobl 2006, cover. Billeter et al. 2008, p. 209 (color ill.).

EXHIBITIONS: Frankfurt 1929, cat. 45, n.pag. Bad Homburg 1931, cat. 5, p. 10. St. Louis 1960, cat. 48, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 56, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 54, n.pag. Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 30, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1966–67, p. 35. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 11, p. 7. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 6, pp. 6–7, 34 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 6, pp. 6–7, 34 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 6, pp. 6–7, 34 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, pp. 6–7, 34 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, pp. 6–7, 34 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 8, pp. 10 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 16, pp. 10–11, 52 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 69, pp. 148, 150 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1986–87, p. 15 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 20, pp. 100, 101 (color ill.), 102, 231.

RELATED WORKS: *Sketch for "Portrait of Curt Glaser,"* 1929. Charcoal on paper; 49 x 37 cm. Location unknown. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 457, fig. 32.
Figs. 12/2–3

NOTES
1. For more on Glaser, see Karl Scheffler, "Curt Glaser. Zu seinem Fünfzigsten Geburtstag," *Kunst und Künstler* 27 (1929), pp. 324–25; Astrit Schmidt-Burkhardt, "Curt Glaser–Skizze eines Munch-Sammlers," *Zeitschrift des Deutschen Vereins für Kunstwissenschaft* 42, 3 (1988), pp. 63–75; Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin 1996, pp. 58–61; Ulrike Wendland, *Biographisches Handbuch deutschsprachiger Kunsthistoriker im Exil*, vol. 1 (Munich: Saur, 1999), n.pag.; Strobl 2006. Glaser's address as of 1926 was Prinz-Albrecht-Strasse 8a (now Niederkirchnerstraße 8). The address is also typed on a label on the painting's stretcher.
2. Glaser favorably reviewed an exhibition of Beckmann's work at J. B. Neumann's Berlin gallery in 1921. See Strobl 2006, pp. 338–40. Beckmann also spoke highly of an article by Glaser, "Max Beckmann," *Kunst und Künstler* 21 (1923), pp. 311–14, which formed the basis of a monograph he coauthored on the artist published the following year (Glaser et al. 1924). MB to Reinhard Piper, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Apr. 8, 1923, no. 238, p. 234.
3. Curt Glaser, "Max Beckmann. Ausstellung in der Galerie A. Flechtheim, Berlin," *Kunst und Künstler* 27 (1929), p. 226. ". . . die Krampf und Spannung in Gleichmaß und Wohlklang gelöst hat."
4. Curt Glaser, "Die 24. Ausstellung der Berliner Sezession," *Die Kunst* 25 (1912), p. 422. "In einfacheren Themen, vor allem dem Porträt, gibt Beckmann wieder sein Bestes." (With simple themes, above all portraits, Beckmann again gives it his all.) See also idem, "Berliner Ausstellungen (bei Paul Cassirer)," *Die Kunst* 27 (1913), p. 264, cited in Göpel 1976, vol. 2, p. 22. In this essay, Glaser praised the artist's "excellent portraits" (*ausgezeichnete Portraits*) but criticized others as "unfinished works" (*unfertigen Werken*).
5. MB to MQB, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Oct. 6, 1925, no. 350, p. 18.
6. The National Socialists eventually removed the prints from the collection.
7. Beckmann moved to Paris in Oct. 1929. He noted as early as the previous April that he intended to be there by Oct. 1. See MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Apr. 10, 1929, no. 490, pp. 139, 365.
8. Belting 1989, p. 27.
9. Beckmann's address was Nymphenburger Str. 1. See MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 365, n. 490.
10. All three sketches are illustrated in Karlsruhe 1963, no. 30a–c, n.pag.
11. See the photograph of the study (*Arbeitszimmer*) reproduced in Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin 1996, p. 60. The details of Glaser's home recorded in the Munich drawing contradict the account that the portrait was done in Hanns Swarzenki's room in the same building, cited in Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 219. Beckmann was familiar with Glaser's residence, which was the setting for a Monday-evening salon he attended.
12. A large window can also be seen in the library (see fig. 12/4). On the building, see Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin 1996 (note 1).
13. The frame's liner extends farther on the right-hand side of the canvas. Measuring 26 millimeters on the left and 36 millimeters on the right, the frame rabbet thus covers much of the empty background at the right. Beckmann's mention on June 12, 1930, of a frame for the "Glaserbild" likely refers to his 1930 *Self-Portrait with Saxophone* (Göpel 320), which Glaser and his first wife bought, and not the portrait of Glaser. MB to Günther Franke, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, June 12, 1930, no. 524, p. 163.
14. In his income list (Notebook 1, MB Estate, Berlin), Beckmann recorded receiving payment from Glaser (two thousand marks) in June 1929 ("verk. 1929 Juni Glaser Portrait 2000").
15. On Glaser's visit to Beckmann's Paris studio, see MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 380, n. 523.
16. Several authors claimed that Glaser converted to Protestantism at his first wife's request, Astrid Schmidt-Burkhardt and Nina Senger among them. Schmidt-Burkhardt (note 1), p. 70; Schmidt-Burkhardt and Senger, in Bauhaus-Archiv Berlin 1996, p. 59. Andreas Strobl, however, considered Glaser's motives to be unclear and suggested that he left Judaism for professional advancement. Indeed, slightly illegible handwritten documents indicate that he may have converted as early as 1911, before he was married. Strobl 2006, p. 8.
17. Schmidt-Burkhardt (note 1), p. 70. Although both 1940 and 1941 have been listed as the year when the Glasers immigrated to the U.S., Strobl 2006, p. 20, believed it to be 1941, which is followed here.
18. May accession record, May Archives, SLAM. In a letter to May, along with a certification of the painting's authenticity, Erhard Göpel claimed that Glaser Ash left the painting in Switzerland when she immigrated to New York (Göpel noted, erroneously it seems, the year of her immigration as 1943). According to Walter Feilchenfeldt, the painting was acquired by the Galerie Walter Feilchenfeldt, Zurich, from Glaser Ash in 1957 and sold the same year to Scheidt. Letter from Galerie Walter Feilchenfeldt, July 25, 2003, departmental files, SLAM. Glaser's widow also sold a few works to the

Kunsthaus Zürich after the war; see Schmidt-Burkhardt (note 1), p. 74, n. 41.
19. Although Beckmann's picture list notes the title as "Portrait Prof. Glaser," the sitter's academic title has been dropped and full name included for clarity and consistency with other portraits (cats. 23, 32–34).

Cat. 13
Valentine Tessier, 1929–30

Oil on canvas; 57¾ x 35½ in. (146.7 x 90.2 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 844:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / P. 29*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Bildnis Valentine Tessier* (*Portrait of Valentine Tessier*), *Mme Tessier in Amphitrion*, *Portrait Madame Valentine Tessier, in der Rolle der Alcmene in 'Amphitryon 38' von Jean Giraudoux* (Portrait of Madame Valentine Tessier in the Role of Alcmène in "Amphitryon 38" of Jean Giraudoux), *Portrait of Mme Tessier in Amphitrion*, *Porträt Tessier* (Portrait of Tessier), *Porträt Tessier Amphitryon* (Portrait Tessier Amphitryon), *Porträt Valentine Tessier*, *Porträt von Mme Tessier in Amphitryon* (Portrait of Madame Valentine Tessier in Amphitryon), *Valentine Tessier*, *Valentine Tessier dans le rôle d'Alcmène (Paris 1931)* (Valentine Tessier in the Role of Alcmene [Paris 1931])

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On vertical stretcher crossbar, l.c., in black crayon: *# / 3 / 5 / 50* [vertically and upside down]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1957 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. In 1957 a small hole (one-half inch in diam.)—thirteen inches from the top of the canvas and seven inches from the right side—was repaired using PVA adhesive and wax-filler inlay. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application moderately thick. Minimal brush texture, impasto, and cracking. In 1957 a small hole in canvas was repaired (see Support) and was inpainted with vinyl lacquer colors. **Surface coating:** Originally not varnished. In 1957 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, New York; sold (Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York), June 5, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Fortsetzung 1929 (Paris . . .): Valentine Tessier (beendet am 10. 2. 30)*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 273, p. 72. Göpel 1976, no. 314, vol. 1, pp. 226, 523, 540, 554; vol. 2, p. 109 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Lackner 1983, pp. 33 (color ill.), 95. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 457. Cologne 2005, p. 123.

EXHIBITIONS: Basel 1930, cat. 90, p. 11. Munich 1930a, cat. 4., n.pag. Prague 1930, cat. 1.* Zurich 1930, cat. 75, p. 7. Hanover 1931, cat. 28, n.pag. Paris 1931, cat. 37, n.pag.; Brussels 1931, cat. 17, n.pag. Winterthur 1938, cat. 3, p. 19. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 19, pp. 33, 96. Chicago 1955, cat. 18.* St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). New York et al. 1957, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1960, cat. 50, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 58, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 56, n.pag. Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 31, n.pag., ill. Nashville et al. 1966, cat. 23, n.pag., ill. New York 1967, n.pag., ill. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 13, p. 7. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 41, p. 38; Munich 1968–69, cat. 38, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 41, p. 38. Bremen 1969b, cat. E3, n.pag. Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 9, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 14, pp. 10, 50 (ill.), 132. Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 75, pp. 156, 157 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 21, pp. 94, 102, 103 (color ill.), 231. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 16, pp. 150, 151 (color ill.), 190, 228, 230. Leipzig 2011–12, cat. 175, pp. [187] (color ill.), 220, 327, 374.

NOTES
1. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 226. See also Bettina Liebowitz Knapp, *Louis Jouvet, Man of the Theater* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1957), p. 280.
2. Jouvet, cited in Knapp (note 1), p. 137.
3. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 226. These sketches have not been located.
4. According to Quappi Beckmann, cited in Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 31, n.pag.
5. Knapp (note 1), pp. 138, 304, n. 43.
6. Ibid., p. 138.
7. The brushstrokes here slightly obscure Beckmann's signature.
8. According to Quappi Beckmann (note 4).
9. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 228.
10. Käthe Rapoport von Porada, "Max Beckmann. Der Titan," MS, p. 170, courtesy Städel Museum, Frankfurt.
11. Unknown author, in *Carnet de la Semaine*, cited and translated into English in Bezzola 1998–99, p. 149.
12. New York et al. 1957.

Cat. 14
The Bath, 1930

Oil on canvas; 68⅞ x 47¾ in. (174.9 x 121.3 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 846:1983
Not signed or dated

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Badeszene* (Bath Scene), *Das Bad (Paris)* (The Bath [Paris]), *Das Badezimmer* (The Bathroom), *Het Bad* (The Bath)

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1957 original stretcher was removed and replaced. In 1982 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and Zonarez B-85 polyterpene resin, 3:1, and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Woman's flesh tones are moderately thick, but application is thin elsewhere. Minimal cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1957 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1982 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, by 1931, to Günther Franke, Munich; transferred, by 1936, to Heinrich Fromm, Munich; acquired, by 1939, by Günther Franke, Munich; sold, Feb. 22, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1930 (Frankfurt) und Paris: Das Bad beendet 15. 11 (Paris) Franke*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 307, p. 73. Göpel 1976, no. 334, vol. 1, pp. 236–37, 523, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 115 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Schöne 1947, p. 16 (color ill.). Buchheim 1959, p. [74] (color ill.). Fischer 1972, p. 47, n. 136. Fischer 1973, pp. [46] (color ill.), 47–49. Erpel 1985, cat. 136, pp. [206] (fig. 140 [color]), 338. Belting 1989, pp. 30, 35, 89–90. Spieler 1995, pp. 92–93, 94 (color ill.). Weistheider 1995, pp. 153, n. 110, 156–57, n.pag., fig. 50. Billeter 2000, pp. 31, 41, 100. Rainbird 2003, pp. 99 (fig. 43), 100–1. Hamburg 2003–4, p. 123, fig. 7 (color). Bern 2006, pp. 77–80.

EXHIBITIONS: Berlin 1931, cat. 29, p. 4. Munich 1931, cat. 3, n.pag., ill. Pittsburgh 1936, cat. 237, n.pag., pl. 38. Bern 1938, cat. 43, p. 5.[17] Munich 1946, cat. 47, n.pag. Frankfurt 1947, cat. 27, n.pag. Hamburg 1947 (no cat.).* Hanover 1949, cover, cat. 20, n.pag. Munich 1950, cat. 8, n.pag., ill. Essen 1951, cat. 20, pp. 6 (fig. 5), 7. Munich 1951, no. 16 (no cat.). Munich et al. 1951, cat. 87, p. 51. Amsterdam 1951–52, cat. 29, p. 26. Zurich 1955–56, cat. 58, p. 29. Basel 1956, cat. 49, p. 29. The Hague 1956, cat. 42, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). New York et al. 1957–58, cat. 17, pp. [102], [103] (color ill.), 219. Kansas City, Mo. 1959, cat. 2, p. 1. St. Louis 1960, cat. 52, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 60, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 58, n.pag., ill. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 33, p. 151; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 31, n.pag., fig 30; London 1965, cat. 33, pp. 27, 50 (pl. 11). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 14, p. 7 (ill.). New York 1968, cat. 3, n.pag., ill. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 7, pp. 7, 35 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 7, pp. 7, 35 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 7, pp. 7, 35 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 7, pp. 7, 35 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 7, pp. 7, 35 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 11, pp. 12 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 17, pp. 11, 53 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1983–84, cat. 82, pp. 168, 169 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 62, pp. 63, 248 (color ill.), 249, 457. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 16 (ill.), 17; Raleigh 1986, n.pag., ill. Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 43, pp. 132, 133 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 23, pp. 106, 107 (color ill.), 231. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 20, pp. 29 (color ill.), 141, 230. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 241 (color ill.), 403; London/New York 2003, cat. 74, pp. 34, 126, 127 (color ill.), 287. Cologne 2005, cat. 37, pp. 35, [91] (color ill.), 176.

NOTES
1. On the role of spatial dynamics in creating a sense of isolation, see Gohr 1986, p. 60. For more on this painting as an exploration of the relationship between the sexes, see Belting 1989, p. 30.
2. In the majority of early publications, the painting is dated to 1931. A 1931 exhibition catalogue from the Akademie der Künste, Berlin, erroneously lists two paintings: *Das Bad* (1930) and *Das Badezimmer* (1931). The now illegible original title in Beckmann's picture list (written in pencil below the words "Das Bad") may actually have been *Badezimmer*.
3. Haxthausen 1985, p. 17; Reimertz 1996, p. 151; Wieg 2005, p. 67. Sean Rainbird recounted the reasons for the attribution, but he considered the evidence inconclusive. Rainbird 2003, p. 101. Beckmann-Tube is identified as the woman, but no identification is provided for the man, in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 249. For the highly questionable suggestion that the painting

represents Beckmann-Tube with her son, Peter, see New York et al. 1970, p. 11. Erhard and Barbara Göpel noted that Quappi Beckmann did not confirm this claim. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 237.
4. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 249; Haxthausen 1985, p. 17; Rainbird 2003, p. 100.
5. According to Lilly von Schnitzler, one of several conditions Beckmann insisted on before marrying Kaulbach was that he could continue to see Beckmann-Tube. MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 327, n. 2; Lenz 1998, p. 24.
6. MB to MBT, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Aug. 25 and Sept. 1, 1928, nos. 471–72, pp. 122–24, 355–56. Beckmann likely also saw Beckmann-Tube in Frankfurt at the end of Oct. 1929. MB to MBT, ibid., Oct. 1, 1929, no. 504, pp. 146–47, 371. The two paintings depicting Beckmann-Tube have been considered as possible evidence that the two met again in Paris in 1930. Lenz 1998, p. 24; Rainbird 2003, p. 101. See also Reimertz 1996, pp. 150–1; Wieg 2005, p. 67.
7. For more on the works included in the Galerie de la Renaissance exhibition, see Bezzola 1998–99, pp. 190–91. Barbara Stehlé-Ahktar suggested that Beckmann may have decided not to exhibit *The Bath* because he wished to keep secret his continuing intimacy with Beckmann-Tube. See Rainbird 2003, p. 101, n. 31; Stehlé-Ahktar, "I Also Love Women," in Bern 2006, p. 80. For an illustration of the invitation, see Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 189.
8. MQB to MDM, May accession record, May Archives, SLAM.
9. Thwaites 1951, p. 277.
10. Westheider 1995, p. 156. Westheider compared Beckmann's use of black as a surface color (*Flächenfarbe*) to that of the abstract painter Friedrich Vordemberge-Gildewart, with whom Beckmann later had contact during his exile in Amsterdam.
11. In 1936, when *The Bath* was the sole work by Beckmann in the Carnegie International exhibition in Pittsburgh (see fig. 25), Fromm's name appears on loan forms as its owner. Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh. Fromm's Munich address is listed as Lessingstrasse 6/II. The catalogue for Bern 1938 states that the painting was for sale but does not specify its current owner.
12. In 1935 Franke wrote to Beckmann that he had been able to secure the support of the National Socialist authorities now that Fromm was no longer involved with the Graphisches Kabinett. Günther Franke to MB, Oct. 21, 1935, cited in Lenz 2008, p. 26. According to Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 42, Franke, together with his first wife, Helga Fietz, acquired the gallery that year.
13. For more on Fromm, see Bernhard Schossig, ed., *Ins Licht gerückt: jüdische Lebenswege im Münchner Westen* (Munich: Herbert Utz, 2008).
14. Billeter 2000, p. 100. In his unpublished autobiography, "Confessions of an Art Dealer" (1959; J. B. Neumann Papers, Series B, Archives, MoMA; cited in a German translation in Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 312), Neumann stated that Franke acquired Fromm's Beckmann collection in 1939. According to Harter/Wiese 2011, p. 323, n. 74, Neumann was relating information provided by Franke after the war. See also *Briefe an Günther Franke. Porträt eines deutschen Kunsthändlers,* ed. Doris Schmidt (Cologne: DuMont Schauberg, 1970), p. 29. Documents in the Stadtarchiv, Munich, indicate that Fromm left Germany on July 7, 1939. Ibid., pp. 31, 41, n. 2. Nonetheless, Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, p. 73, lists Fromm as the painting's owner.
15. Günther Franke to MB, Oct. 28, 1942, Max Beckmann Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C. Franke listed here "das grosse Bad" (the large bath) as one of the works in his collection. However, in a letter offering the painting to Morton D. May, Franke referred to *The Bath* as in the "possession of my gallery." Günther Franke to MDM, Dec. 10, 1955, May Archives, SLAM.
16. Göpel 827. MDM to MQB, Mar. 15, 1956, and MDM accession record, May Archives, SLAM.
17. In Bern 1938, cat. 43 is entitled *Das Bad* and dated to 1937. Since *The Bath* dates to 1930, the discrepancy signals the possibility that the St. Louis painting was not in this exhibition. A painting from 1937, *Das Bad in August* (The Bath in August; Göpel 486) does exist. Hence, the exact identity of the painting exhibited in Bern as cat. 43 cannot be determined.

Cat. 15
Still Life (with Mexican Figure), 1931

Oil on canvas; 24 x 12 in. (61 x 30.5 cm) (oval)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 847:1983
Signed and dated, l.l.: *Beckmann / P. 31*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Still Life with Mask* (*Stilleben mit Maske*), *Still Life with Mexican Figure (Vase)*, *Still Life with Vase*, *Stilleben mit mexikanischer Figur* (Still Life with Mexican Figure)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher: u.l., in graphite: *E7883.10 1*; u.c., on beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY* [in green graphite:] *53 / CURT VALENTIN / 32 East 57th Street, New York / Title & Year* [typed:] *Still Life with Mask 1931 /* [printed:] *Artist* [typed:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *Medium & Size* [typed:] *O*[illegible], circular black stamp [illegible]; u.c., red stamp: *DOCUMENTA*; u.r., in white chalk: *24—83¼*; c.l., in black crayon vertically from top to bottom: *#1151*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Light-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original oval stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin, lean, and matte in mid-tones; thicker in dark areas; moderately thick in lighter colors where there is brush texture. Some cracking in the thicker paint. **Surface coating:** Selectively varnished, presumably by the artist. Darker colors are unvarnished. Over the white paint is a thin layer of natural varnish that has yellowed slightly.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, date unknown, to J. B. Neumann, New York; acquired, by 1954, Curt Valentin Gallery, Inc., New York; sold, Dec. 5, 1955, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Frankfurt und Paris 1931: Stilleben (wieder klein* [*oval* – in graphite, added by another hand] *m. mexikanischer Figur) Frankfurt 2/2 Neumann*[15]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 342, vol. 1, pp. 241–42, 524, 547, 554, 578; vol. 2, p. 117 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Cologne 2005, p. 36.

EXHIBITIONS: Paris 1931, under cats. 41–45 ("Divers"), n.pag. New York 1954, cat. 2, n.pag. Chicago 1955, cat. 5.* St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 51, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 59, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 57, n.pag. Kassel 1964, cat. 7, p. 6. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 18, pp. 11, 54 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 24, pp. 108, 109 (color ill.), 231. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 25, pp. 52 (color ill.), 141, 231.

NOTES
1. For more on the 1931 exhibition, see intro. to this chap. Erhard and Barbara Göpel argued convincingly that Beckmann painted SLAM's canvas in Frankfurt and signed it ("P. 31") in Paris. See Göpel 1976, no. 342, vol. 1, p. 242. New York 1954 erroneously states that the work was executed in Berlin.
2. The other is *Rêve de Paris, Colette, Eiffel Tower* (Göpel 341), which has a stretcher stamp of Hermann Winter, a Frankfurt-based company. This suggests that Beckmann worked on both oval canvases in Frankfurt.
3. The vessel appears in a work of that year, *Still Life with Fish and Paper Flower* (1923; Göpel 220). Despite their many moves, the Beckmanns held onto the majority of their furniture and belongings throughout their lives. A photograph in the MB Estate, Berlin, shows the vessel prominently displayed on a bookshelf in their New York apartment. See Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 39 (fig. 36).
4. I owe this excellent suggestion to Jutta Schütt. I would also like to also thank Dea Boster and Zoe Perkins for conversations about male fashion of the time. For more on Beckmann's approach to rendering cloth during his Parisian period, see Gohr 1986, p. 57.
5. While Beckmann may not have been familiar with Jean Baptiste Siméon Chardin's *House of Cards* (c. 1736/37; National Gallery, London), which depicts a boy playing with cards on a table with a drawer opening out toward the viewer, Michael Fried's examination of the "highly sophisticated device" of the drawer in that painting is helpful here: "By virtue of fronting the beholder and what is more opening toward him, the drawer serves to enforce a distinction between the beholder's point of view and perception of the scene as a whole." Fried, *Absorption and Theatricality: Painting and Beholder in the Age of Diderot* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988), pp. 48–49.
6. I would like to thank Matthew H. Robb for his help in identifying both objects and for providing me with comparative examples. According to Robb, ancient Andean material was widely available in Germany in the first half of the twentieth century.
7. The same object, which is now lost, also appears in *Still Life with Cactuses* (1918; Göpel 198). The high angle from which it is depicted in this earlier painting helps identify it as a drinking vessel rather than a "mask."
8. Stephan Lackner remembered visiting the Musée de l'Homme, Paris, around 1938, with Beckmann, who impressed his friend with "his wealth of references and knowledge." Lackner, in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 151.
9. For a survey of this issue, see Barbara Braun, *Pre-Columbian Art and the Post-Columbian World: Ancient*

American Sources of Modern Art (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1993).

10. Beckmann's library would eventually include a number of books on the subject: *Art of the Americas. From before Columbus to the Present Day* (1948); Alden Mason, *The American Collections of the University Museum. The Ancient Civilizations of Middle America* (1943); William Prescott, *Die Eroberung von Peru, Lutur und Untergang des Incas* (1937). See Beckmann/Schaffer 1992, pp. 468, 492, 496. See also Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 220.

11. Neumann published the pamphlet in New York and sent it to Beckmann. MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 294, n. 361.

12. Both titles contain misnomers, since the one is not a mask and the other not a vase. The title *Still Life with Mask* appears to have originated with the Curt Valentin Gallery in 1954. See New York 1954. Quappi Beckmann challenged this title, which May used in a catalogue of his collection (St. Louis 1960). But she still, erroneously, referred to the other object as "a Mexican vase." MQB to MDM, Mar. 5, 1960, May Archives, SLAM. May responded that his captions were based on the title on the stretcher and the invoice from the Curt Valentin Gallery at the time of the purchase. MDM to MQB, Apr. 20, 1960, May Archives, SLAM.

13. In his picture list, in the same handwriting he used to note Neumann's purchase of *Still Life (with Mexican Figure)*, Beckmann wrote that the dealer bought *View at Night from the Rue des Marronniers* (1931; Göpel 351). According to correspondence from 1931, Neumann met Beckmann in Paris in June and may have taken both paintings with him to New York at this time. MB to J. B. Neumann, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, June 25, 1931, no. 573, p. 205; MB to MQB, ibid., June 27, 1931, no. 574, p. 205. See also Billeter et al. 2008, p. 202. However, *View at Night* bears a Neumann label on the verso, while *Still Life (with Mexican Figure)* does not. Erhard and Barbara Göpel stated that SLAM's painting was shown in the exhibition "The Painters of Still Life" at the Wadsworth Atheneum, Hartford, in 1938. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, pp. 241–42. The date and dimensions of the painting entitled *The Mexican Vase* (lent by Neumann) listed in the catalogue correspond, however, exactly to those of *Still Life with Fish and Paper Flower* (see note 3), which Neumann also owned.

14. An undated list (after 1949, based on works mentioned) in the Valentin archives titled "Max Beckmann" includes the following: "12930 Still Life with Mask, 1931, oil, 23½ x 11¾ $850." Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.7a[1], Archives, MoMA. The price listed is that offered to May. Jane Wade (Curt Valentin Gallery) to MDM, Nov. 28, 1955, Valentin Papers, III.B.8 Lund-S., Archives, MoMA.

15. Beckmann included "wieder klein" (small again) in the title he wrote in his picture list; this phrase has been eliminated from the official SLAM title.

CHAPTER 4

Exile

Cats. 16–26

CHAPTER 4

Exile

In the first few months of 1933, following Adolf Hitler's appointment as chancellor of Germany, a policy of "synchronization" (*Gleichschaltung*) was set in place across the nation with the goal of aligning individuals and institutions with the Nazi state. As a result, Max Beckmann and numerous colleagues at the Städelschule in Frankfurt, including director Fritz Wichert (see cat. 38), were removed from their positions. In Berlin the director of the Nationalgalerie, Ludwig Justi, who had long supported the purchase and display of modern art, was dismissed. An entire gallery on the upper level of the Kronprinzenpalais recently dedicated to Beckmann's painting was altered in July. The Kunsthalle Mannheim, which had avidly promoted the artist and avant-garde art in the 1920s (see Chapter 2), also came under new leadership and was the first institution to feature Beckmann's art in a defamatory exhibition (see fig. 8/3).[1] From April 4 to June 5, 1933, works from the permanent collection, including Beckmann's *Christ and the Sinner* (cat. 8), were displayed as "Cultural Bolshevist Pictures" (*Kulturbolshewistische Bilder*), a title intended to invoke the alleged communist threat posed by modern art and those who produced and championed it. Each painting was displayed without a frame and accompanied by a label bearing the name of the art dealer who had brokered the sale and the price the museum had paid for it. This tactic, adopted in the infamous "Degenerate Art" exhibition of 1937, aimed to outrage the German public by revealing the use of public funds for art deemed un-German, or "degenerate."[2] Officially sanctioned art increasingly became a propaganda tool; unsanctioned art was understood as political opposition to the regime.[3]

Beckmann received official word in late March that his teaching position would terminate effective April 15.[4] Likely in May, he moved to Berlin, where he hoped to continue his work unabated in the anonymity of the capital.[5] Beckmann's friend and patron Käthe Rapoport von Porada later recalled meeting Beckmann in Berlin after his relocation there. She was dismayed by the artist's decision to leave Frankfurt and its proximity to Paris, where he had spent a considerable amount of time (see Chapter 3). However, he took the move in stride, she remembered, remarking that it represented merely a "change of scenery" (*Kulissenwechsel*) and that the "actors"—by which he meant himself, Porada, etc.—nonetheless remained constant.[6] Max and Quappi Beckmann left Germany for good in 1937, around the time of the opening in Munich of the "Degenerate Art" exhibition, in which he was heavily represented (see below).[7] Beckmann executed the eleven paintings featured in this chapter during his four years in Berlin and ten years in Amsterdam, with an interlude in Paris in 1938–39. Needless to say, the official defamation of Beckmann's work in Germany and his eventual emigration impacted the role in his art of such universal themes as time, place, and history—whether real, remembered, or imagined. His output in the early 1930s also demonstrates his increasing interest in mythological and allegorical themes, a shift prompted at least in part by politicized debates about art and culture in which his work played a central role (see cat. 11). While Beckmann shied away from outright polemics in his art, he nonetheless addressed the distressing state of life in his times, offering his work as a way to explore significance beyond everyday reality. As Hans Belting argued, Beckmann understood myth in its modern sense, that is, "applied to save the world from a surfeit of enlightenment and to abrogate the demands of modern life and society. Beckmann . . . promises a redemption from the bare impermanence of life and an ordering of everything in its rightful place, against the prevailing impression of a lack of meaning in our lives."[8] This period is also marked by Beckmann's articulation of his project in terms of the theater (for him a metaphor of life) and the development of his triptych format. The artist's years in exile turned out to be the most prolific of his career, thanks to the continual support of individuals who helped him live and work in relative safety.[9]

Change of Scenery

In comparison to the active social and professional life Beckmann enjoyed in Frankfurt and Paris, his Berlin years were relatively quiet.[10] The Beckmanns lived not far from the artist's patron Lilly von Schnitzler, who had helped them

Fig. 23. Max Beckmann. *Self-Portrait*, 1936 (cast 1958–59). Bronze; 34.9 x 33 x 32.1 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, bequest of Morton D. May, 870:1983.

find an apartment and studio in the Graf-Spree-Strasse, near Tiergarten park.[11] In Berlin Beckmann's work took two major turns. The first dates from 1934, when, at age fifty, he began to sculpt in clay and plaster.[12] According to Quappi Beckmann, a Mr. Ruppelt, caretaker of the building in which the couple lived, was a plasterer and helped the artist make five figurative sculptures between 1934 and 1936.[13] Like most of the work Beckmann did in this period, the sculptures were not exhibited. Only the two earliest plaster models—*Man in the Dark* (1934) and *Female Dancer* (1935)—appear to have been cast in bronze at the time for close patrons; most, like the life-size *Self-Portrait* of 1936 (fig. 23), were cast posthumously.[14] Beckmann's foray into sculpture can be seen as an extension of his interest in the representation of space and volume on the two-dimensional surface of the canvas. His sculptures address themes akin to those of his paintings (blindness, the Fall of Man, circus or theater performers). Likewise, his paintings, especially studio scenes and still lifes (see cats. 24, 26), are frequently populated by sculptures, which often function as stand-in protagonists.

The second development was Beckmann's renewed exploration of ambitious themes. Not only did his subjects become weightier, but he rendered them in the largest formats he had undertaken since World War I (see Chapter 1). In 1932, roughly one year before he left Frankfurt, Beckmann began the first in a series of monumental works with a tripartite structure. This triptych, which the artist later titled *Departure* (fig. 24), began as three distinct canvases with individual titles: *The Castle*, *Homecoming*, and *The Stairs*.[15] Flanked by two interiors with bound and tortured figures, the central section depicts a boat, in bright blue water, carrying a crowned man, a woman and child, and a hooded boatman. Despite the fact that, in his writings and correspondence, Beckmann repeatedly eschewed fixed meanings for his works and that he began these monumental compositions before he lost his teaching position, *Departure* quickly became (and has largely remained) an archetypal symbol of exile. In Berlin and Amsterdam, the artist completed six more of the total of nine triptychs in his oeuvre, including *Acrobats* (cat. 19).[16]

In light of the loss of his academic position and defamation of his work, in the mid-1930s Beckmann considered emigration.[17] Nonetheless, the artist continued to believe that he had a future in Germany. In 1934 he asked the dealer Günther Franke to refrain from showing his work for a minimum of one year, or, at the least, to secure his approval about what to exhibit.[18] "I see things now even more precisely and am very optimistic and very informed!! . . . Do not make any exhibition that causes unnecessary commotion," Beckmann wrote. "There are things and forces at work right now that will be very useful to us, but that will definitely be impeded if we make unnecessary commotion."[19] Initially, there was no consensus within the Nazi Party as to what constituted sanctioned art, and Beckmann's status was by no means immediately clear.[20] Although National Socialist cultural policy had hardened by 1935, Beckmann's work appeared in several small shows in Germany.[21] A few paintings by the artist even remained on display in the Nationalgalerie until October 1936—landscapes and a still life that the museum's new director evidently considered palatable.[22] Beckmann also continued to exhibit abroad.[23] For example, at the 1936 Carnegie International exhibition in Pittsburgh, his imposing composition *The Bath* (cat. 14) and the marine scenes by former Bauhaus artists T. Lux (Feininger) and Herbert Bayer that flanked it were displayed under the heading "Germany" (see fig. 25).[24] Despite the ever-increasing threat to proponents and practitioners of the German avant-garde, Beckmann almost brazenly retained his style and persisted in executing large-scale compositions.[25] As Reinhard Spieler noted, "The triptych format, at least in terms of the dimensions that Beckmann uses, must be understood as an expression of his claim to public recognition [*Öffentlichkeit*]."[26]

In summer 1937, the Nazis systematically removed from German museums a total of five hundred ninety works by Beckmann, twenty-eight of which were paintings. Ten oils, including *Christ and the Sinner*, and a number of works on paper were shown in the "Degenerate Art" exhibition, which opened

Fig. 24. Max Beckmann. *Departure*, 1932, 1933–35. Oil on canvas; left canvas: 215.3 x 99.7 cm, center canvas: 215.3 x 115.2 cm, right canvas: 215.3 x 99.7 cm. Göpel 412. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, given anonymously (by exchange).

Fig. 25. Installation view of Max Beckmann's *The Bath* (cat. 14) in "The 1936 International Exhibition of Paintings," 1936, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh. Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh.

in July.[27] While its precursor, in Mannheim, was installed in the museum's galleries, the organizers of the Munich show erected temporary walls in space normally devoted to plaster casts in the city's archeological institute, filling it with hundreds of artworks. The crowded installation included a significant amount of text, some coarsely scrawled on the walls in crude imitation of avant-garde tactics: thematic titles, quotations, and defamatory statements.[28] Running concurrently was the "Great German Art Exhibition," featuring officially sanctioned art largely selected by Hitler himself.[29] In the speech he delivered at the opening, on July 18, 1937, Hitler claimed that the "Great German Art Exhibition" would prove to be a turning point away from the "existing artistic, sculptural, and painterly decay" exemplified in the "Degenerate Art" display nearby.[30] In combination, the exhibitions signaled a refinement and cohesion of Nazi cultural policy, a further indication to Beckmann that a future for him in Germany was no longer possible.

"Twentieth Century German Painting"

Just before Hitler's July 18 speech was broadcast on the radio, the Beckmanns left Germany permanently with only suitcases in hand.[31] Their belongings, including Beckmann's artwork, followed them to Amsterdam. The couple's living quarters, at Rokin 85, were small, but a large former tobacco storeroom above, accessible by a steep staircase, provided ample studio space. Initially, the artist considered the Dutch capital to be an interim living situation.[32] He hoped to immigrate permanently to Paris and began making plans to that effect. Indeed, Beckmann spent much of his time in Paris in 1938–39 (see cat. 19) in a small rented apartment in Passy, painting in one of the flat's furnished rooms.[33] In 1938 and 1939, respectively, his friends Porada and the German Jewish émigré writer Stephan Lackner hosted Beckmann exhibitions in their Paris apartments.[34] The start of the war, however, followed in 1940 by the German occupation of Holland and then France, forced the Beckmanns to remain in Amsterdam until 1947.[35]

After he left Germany, Beckmann was encouraged by Lackner and Porada to show his work in an exhibition at the New Burlington Galleries, London.[36] The exhibition was initially conceived "as a pictorial protest against the barbaric defamation of all modern art by the Nazi regime."[37] Critical of overtly political art, Beckmann initially resisted participating for fear that an anti-fascist exhibition could only result in a lack of artistic integrity or quality. Writing to Lackner around the same time about a recent agitprop work by the radical German film and theater director Erwin Piscator, Beckmann declared, "Genuine art just cannot be made effective through commotion and propaganda in a journalistic sense."[38] In the same letter, he called politics a "subordinate matter" (*subalterne Angelegenheit*).[39] The exhibition, "Twentieth Century German Painting," opened in 1938, a full year after the defamatory Munich exhibition it sought to counter. The organizers were careful to note that it was not a political statement, but rather an attempt to introduce German art to the British public, albeit highlighting work that the Nazis had declared "degenerate."[40] Lackner's and Porada's efforts to persuade Beckmann to participate paid off. His work occupied an entire wall of the exhibition (see fig. 26) and included *The Harbor of Genoa* (cat. 11), which Porada owned at the time, and the large-scale *The King* (cat. 18). Moreover, Beckmann traveled to London to speak at the exhibition's opening. Perhaps in reference to the original political motivation behind the show, Beckmann's address, entitled "On My Painting," began with a disclaimer: "I have never been politically active in any way. I have tried only to realize my conception of the world as intensely as possible." He continued, "Painting is a very difficult thing. It absorbs the whole man, body and soul—thus I have passed blindly many things that belong to real and political life."[41] He spoke of "two worlds: the world of spiritual life and the world of political reality."[42] Given an opportunity to talk to an audience unfamiliar with his work directly in front of paintings that have long-since been understood as reflecting his experiences with fascism, Beckmann chose to de-emphasize political meanings and underscore the primacy of painting.

"Scene in the Eternal Theater"

Available at the 1938 London exhibition were mimeographed copies of a text by Lackner entitled *Das Welttheater des Malers Max Beckmanns* (Max Beckmann's Theater of the World), translated at the time as "Max Beckmann's Mystical Pageant of the World."[43] Beckmann frequently depicted theatrical milieus—circus, stage, film set—and portrayed himself and others in various performative roles. Lackner likened the artist to a showman or circus barker loudly inviting the crowd to enter the spectacle and dubbed Beckmann a "dramatist among painters,"[44] precisely because of his faithfulness to certain theater types. Like the artist, the author did not read *Departure* as a straightforward political indictment of Nazi Germany. For him it functioned like a play within a play: "The huge work can be seen as a pagan, or rather post-Christian, altarpiece, or as a three-act drama taking its place in Beckmann's life-story like the play in *Hamlet* or the Helen of Troy episode in *Faust*: an epitome of the main theme, and at the same time a stage in its development."[45] In other words, the triptych both condenses meaning and participates in a larger narrative, that of Beckmann's life. Theater was not only a pleasurable distraction or rich subject for art, but also a direct metaphor for existence in wartime. The artist often referred to life as theater: "If one regarded all this—the whole war or even all of life as just a scene in the eternal theater then many things would be easier to handle."[46] In 1939 he described war as if it were part of a theatrical production and bombing campaigns as if designed by "unknown stage directors":

> I am writing this, during a blackout in Amsterdam, to the harmonious concert of wailing sirens. One must admit that unknown stage directors try everything to make the situation more interesting, in the sense of a penny-dreadful. Critically we must state that, unfortunately, they don't have many new ideas anymore, and that we now have the right to stage something new. And that, after all, will occur sooner or later. I, for my part, am busily preparing stage sets among which the play must go on.[47]

As the paintings in this chapter reveal, Beckmann drew on numerous sources for his "stage sets." The triptych format is related to medieval altarpieces and to the revival of the

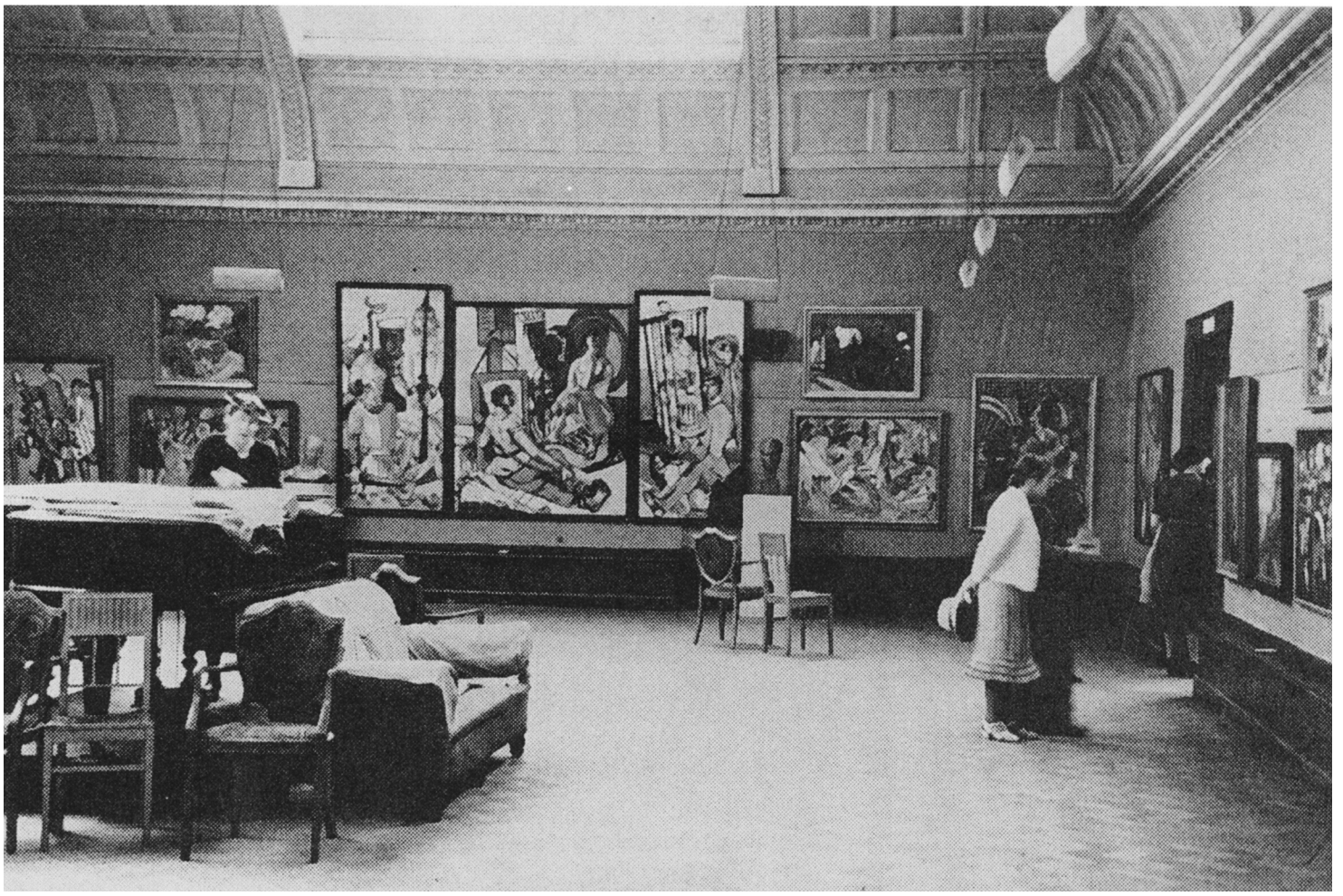


Fig. 26. Installation view of "Twentieth Century German Art," 1938, New Burlington Galleries, London. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

format in the early twentieth century by some of Beckmann's fellow artists, including Otto Dix and Emil Nolde, as well as to contemporaneous developments in film and theater. As Claude Gandelman outlined, Beckmann's triptychs evolved alongside the simultaneous staging of different scenes (*Simultan-* or *Etagenbühne*) by Piscator and playwright Georg Kaiser during the Weimar period.[48] An avid reader and theatergoer likely familiar with this device, Beckmann also wrote plays with similar stage directions.[49] Gandelman's thesis offers a useful parallel for assessing the simultaneity of action in Beckmann's triptychs and other multifocal canvases (see cat. 26). Like the concurrently running scenes of avant-garde theater, Beckmann's triptychs purposely challenge illusionistic perspective, jolting viewers out of passive spectatorship. The artist further provoked his audience by layering meanings within a single work. Upon seeing a triptych, German theater director Ludwig Berger, one of Beckmann's portrait subjects during this period (cat. 23), called the artist's paintings "modern myths."[50] Indeed, the development of his ambitious triptychs went hand in hand with the aforementioned increase of allegorical and mythical subjects in works where similar figures and motifs are repeated. Beckmann later gave the umbrella title *Theater of Life* (*Theater des Lebens*) to three triptychs (*Acrobats*, *Actors*, and *Carnival*) he completed in Amsterdam (but not consecutively).[51]

Thanks to a network of supporters, Beckmann continued to sell not just abroad but even to patrons in Germany, despite the ban on the sale of art deemed "degenerate." Visitors such as Franke and the art historian Erhard Göpel packed rolled-up paintings in hand luggage and organized shipments out of Holland.[52] Lackner's reference to Hamlet when writing about *Departure* seems prescient in relation to a ruse that saved the triptych from confiscation by Nazi authorities. The trio of canvases was identified on each stretcher as a "decorative design" for plays by William Shakespeare.[53] From 1941 until 1944, the artist's son, Peter, a doctor in the German air force, also transported works to Germany.[54] At border control, he is said to have claimed that he himself had executed the paintings, indicating where they were signed with his last name.[55] They successfully passed inspection and went on their way to Nazi Germany.

Fig. 27. Installation view of "Max Beckmann: His Recent Work from 1939 to 1945," 1946, Buchholz Gallery, New York. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

War's End

One of Beckmann's dealers, Curt Valentin, had left Berlin for New York in January 1937 (see Introduction) and proceeded to promote the artist's work in the United States throughout the war.[56] In 1946 Valentin purchased a large number of paintings and exhibited them at his gallery in an exhibition titled "Max Beckmann: His Recent Work from 1939 to 1945" (see fig. 27). In the catalogue, Beckmann's old Frankfurt friend Georg Swarzenski, now a curator at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, described these paintings as signs of life.[57] Many (including cats. 19, 21) were sold to American institutions and individuals before the exhibition even opened. Although peace was declared in the Netherlands on May 4, 1945, the Beckmanns were not able to benefit from such sales. The artist's status as a German national complicated his visa situation and precipitated a time of great financial hardship (see cat. 24). The Beckmanns were regarded as "enemy aliens," and their bank accounts were frozen.[58] The artist was continually plagued throughout the immediate postwar period with worries about his ability to produce and sell his work.

After the war ended, Beckmann renewed an earlier attempt to immigrate to the United States, one thwarted in 1940 by the German invasion of Holland. In 1945 he wrote to supporters in America, many of whom were German émigrés (such as Lackner, Valentin, and Hanns Swarzenski [son of Georg]) who had helped him throughout the conflict.[59] Beckmann debated where to relocate and finally decided to accept a teaching position at Washington University's School of Fine Arts in St. Louis. In 1947 Libby Tannenbaum, a reporter for *Art News*, visited Beckmann before he left Amsterdam. In the resulting article, which appeared in May 1948 and which Beckmann read with great interest, she wrote, "He is always an artist not only of his time, but of his place; and one is curious to see what happens to his work in Saint Louis."[60]

NOTES

1. Hille 1994, pp. 273, 387, nn. 46, 47. Director Gustav Friedrich Hartlaub was given a "leave of absence" (*Beurlaubung*) on Mar. 20, 1933, and forced into retirement the following year. His replacement, Walter Passarge, did not take over until 1936. In the interim, the activities of the museum were largely controlled by Otto Gebele von Waldstein, a local Nazi Party leader.
2. Ibid., esp. pp. 306–9. On the 1937 Munich exhibition, see Schuster 1988; Berlin 1988, pp. 289–313; Los Angeles et al. 1991–92. For a detailed examination of the "Degenerate Art" exhibition and its predecessors, including that in Mannheim in 1933, see Zuschlag 1995.
3. Berlin 1988, p. 278.
4. Gallwitz 1984, p. 15.
5. Although Klaus Gallwitz claimed that Beckmann left Frankfurt in Jan. 1933, the artist in fact had not revealed, as of the beginning of February, any intention of moving to Berlin. Gallwitz 1982–83, p. 15. See MB to Ludwig Thormaehlen, *Briefe* 2 1994, Feb. 1, 1933, no. 613, n. p. 430. On the artist's desire for anonymity in the capital, see Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 18. See also Beckmann's comment to the same effect in "Artist Who Fled from the Nazis Begins Teaching at Washington U.," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 23, 1947.
6. Käthe Rapoport von Porada, "Max Beckmann. Der Titan," MS, p. 205, courtesy Städel Museum, Frankfurt.
7. Until recently most authors, following the Göpels and a confirmation by Quappi Beckmann, believed that the Beckmanns left Berlin on July 19, the day the "Degenerate Art" exhibition opened. See for example Schulz-Hoffmann 2007–8, p. 25; Bormann 2010, p. 59. Beckmann's picture list, however, records July 17, 1937, as the day he and his wife left: "Amsterdam 1937 ab 17. Juli. Émigré." For documentation of July 17 as the day of departure, see Christian Lenz, "Zu den Erwerbungen," in *Max Beckmann Archiv. Erwerbungen 2008–2010*, 11–12, p. 19; Harter/Wiese 2011, pp. 238, 240, n. 374. Beckmann's decision to emigrate at this time was the result of the regime's ongoing defamation of his work (the radio broadcast of Hitler's speech would not have taken him by surprise). In fact, correspondence documents that Beckmann had been contemplating a "migration" since 1936. Bormann 2010, p. 145, n. 13.
8. Belting 1989, p. 69. On Beckmann and myth, see ibid., pp. 69–78.
9. For more on Beckmann's exile in Amsterdam, see New York 1996–97; Munich et al. 2007–8. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann pointed out that the artist's association in the late 1920s with the right-wing aristocrat Karl Anton von Rohan (see Chap. 3) exemplifies the "delicate, often misunderstood balancing act [Beckmann] purposely pursued to maintain his artistic independence." Schulz-Hoffmann 2007–8, p. 14. Recent scholars have shed much light on the nature of Beckmann's relationship with members of the conservative movement and even the National Socialist party. See for example Buenger 1989, p. 476; Peters 2005, esp. pp. 76–112; Buenger 2009.
10. Beckmann MQ 1983, pp. 18ff.
11. For a photograph of the apartment, see Billeter et al. 2008, p. 243.
12. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 21. Beckmann often tinted his plaster models, as is the case with the self-portrait seen in fig. 19/2.
13. Ibid.
14. Frankfurt 2008, p. 9. An early cast of *Man in the Dark* (1934), made for Rudolf von Simolin, is in the Kunsthalle Bremen; Günther Franke's early cast of *Female Dancer* (1935) is in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Munich; another early cast of this work is with Simolin's heirs. Billeter et al. 2008, pp. 214, 231. *Self-Portrait* was one of three bronzes cast by the Roman Bronze Works, New York, in 1958–59 following instructions provided by the Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York, which represented the artist's estate at the time. Morton D. May received the bronze from Quappi Beckmann in partial exchange for the terracotta *Adam and Eve* (see fig. 19/2 for what is likely the plaster version), which May owned; it is now in the Staatsgalerie Stuttgart. See Andreas Franzke, "Max Beckmanns Skulpturen," in Cologne 1984, p. 109; correspondence between Catherine Viviano and MDM, 1958–59, May Archives, SLAM. For more on Beckmann's sculptures, see New York 1959; Franzke, ibid., pp. 93–109; Cornelia Stabenow, "Metaphors of Helplessness. The Sculpture of Max Beckmann," in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 137–44; Frankfurt 2008.
15. In his picture list, Beckmann recorded the paintings as, from left to right: *Das Schloss*, *Heimkehr* (which was written over another title, now illegible), and *Die Treppe*. The list indicates that all were started in Frankfurt in May 1932 and finished in Berlin in 1933. In this list, the three are circled in dark black ink and accompanied by the title, in English, "Departure"; the owner is listed as "Modern Art Museum, New York." According to Olaf Peters, Beckmann did not combine them into a triptych until 1935. Peters 2005, pp. 194–96.
16. A tenth, *Ballet Rehearsal* (1950; Göpel 834), remained unfinished at the time of Beckmann's death.
17. In June–July 1934, the Beckmanns considered leaving Germany and moving permanently to Paris or Amsterdam. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 164. In 1936 they discussed plans to emigrate either to France, Holland, or the U.S. Bormann 2010, p. 145, n. 13.
18. MB to Günther Franke, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Feb. 3, 1934, no. 623, p. 240; end of Oct. 1935, no. 637, p. 253. Franke had run J. B. Neumann's Graphische Kabinett in Munich since 1923 and took it over in 1932. For a summary in English of Beckmann's art dealers from 1933 to 1937, see Bormann 2010, pp. 60–61.
19. MB to Günther Franke, MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, Jan. 30, 1934, no. 622, p. 239. "Ich übersehe eben den Stand der Dinge genauer und bin sehr guten Mutes und sehr informirt [*sic*]!! . . . Keine Ausstellung machen die unötigen [*sic*] Lärm verursacht. Es sind eben Dinge und Kräfte am Werk die uns sehr nützen werden, die aber mit Sicherheit verhindert werden, wenn wir eben unnötigen Lärm schlagen."
20. Langfeld 2008, p. 116.
21. A display of Beckmann's art in Erfurt was closed in 1933. Franke, however, continued to show select visitors work by the artist from his gallery stock. Beckmann's *Self-Portrait in Large Mirror with Candle* (1933; Göpel 380) was included in an exhibition, "Berlin Art in Munich," authorized by the Nazi minister of propaganda, Joseph Goebbels, and held at the Neue Pinakothek, Munich, from mid-March to mid-May 1935. Barbara Buenger, "Dem Dritten Reich ins Gesicht sehen. Berlin 1933–37," in Leipzig 2011–12, p. 31, n. 27. In 1936 Hildebrand Gurlitt organized a solo show for Beckmann at his Kunstkabinett, Hamburg. Bormann 2010, p. 61. Between 1934 and 1936, Karl Buchholz and Curt Valentin exhibited works by Nazi-defamed artists, including examples by Beckmann, in their bookshop on Leipziger Strasse 119/20, Berlin. Bormann, ibid., p. 60. For a list of exhibitions of Beckmann's work during this period, see Göpel 1976, vol. 1, pp. 97–98.
22. These included *Landscape at Saint-Cyr-sur-Mer* (1931; Göpel 352), *Snow Landscape at Garmisch* (1934; Göpel 389), and *Still Life with Large Glass Ball and Stalks of Wheat* (1934; Göpel 405). On July 5, 1937, the Kronenprinzpalais was closed, and its director, Eberhard Hanfstangl, was placed on leave. Schulz-Hoffmann 2007–8, p. 18. For more on the Nationalgalerie in the 1930s, see Annegret Janda, "The Fight for Modern Art. The Berlin Nationalgalerie after 1933," in Los Angeles et al. 1991–92, pp. 105–19.
23. Andreas Hüneke, "On the Trail of Missing Masterpieces. Modern Art from German Galleries," in Los Angeles et al. 1991–92, p. 122. During the Nazi period, Beckmann twice sent work to the Carnegie International: in 1934 from Berlin and in 1938 from Amsterdam. Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh.
24. Pittsburgh 1936, n.pag. Beckmann himself sent *The Bath* to Pittsburgh, and it was returned directly to him. Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh. Beckmann showed regularly in the Carnegie Internationals

beginning in 1928; he continued to do so until 1949 (see Chap. 6).
25. Reviewing the 1936 Carnegie International, American critics noted no dramatic change in Beckmann's style. A recent painting by the expressionist Max Pechstein, however, was seen as "a surprising departure from his previous work" in its "solidity and realistic veracity." While there is no inference in this press response to Nazi strictures on art-making, this comment infers that viewers outside Germany were sensitized to changes in the art of that nation's avant-garde under the National Socialists. See Margaret Breuning, "Carnegie International, 1936," *Parnassus* 8, 6 (Nov. 1936), p. 7. Like Beckmann, Pechstein did not receive an order to desist from painting (*Malverbot*) during the Nazi period and also continued to exhibit. He showed a single work at the Carnegie in 1936, entitled *Fishing Boats* (1933), likely no. 1933/10 in Aya Soika, *Max Pechstein. Das Werkverzeichnis der Ölgemälde*, vol. 2: *1919–1954* (Munich: Hirmer, 2011). From 1933 to 1939, the Carnegie's director, Homer Saint-Gaudens, displayed German art sanctioned by the Nazis, as well as examples by German-Jewish artists, at the International exhibitions. Langfeld 2011, p. 104.
26. Spieler 1998, p. 48.
27. Berlin 1988, pp. 288–313. On the 1937 Munich exhibition, see note 2.
28. Ibid., pp. 290–91. For a complete listing in English of the installation's textual materials, see Mario-Andreas von Lüttichau, "'Entartete Kunst,' Munich 1937: A Reconstruction," in Los Angeles et al. 1991–92, pp. 45–81.
29. Berlin 1988, p. 279.
30. Ibid., p. 277. "Die Ausstellung selbst [muss] eine Wende bringen gegenüber dem erlebten künstlerischen, bildhauerischen und malerischen Verfall." Hitler's speech is published in its entirety in Schuster 1988, pp. 242–52.
31. See note 7. The official event, "Day of German Art" ("Tag der Deutschen Kunst"), ran in Munich for five days, July 16–20. Berlin 1988, p. 277.
32. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Aug. 4, 1937, no. 663, p. 18; excerpt in English in Lackner 1984–85, p. 145.
33. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 25; Lackner 1984–85, p. 150. Beckmann rented an apartment on the rue Massenet from Oct. 1938 to May 1939 (see also cat. 19, note 2)
34. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, pp. 164–65.
35. Lackner, an émigré in Paris at the time, later noted that by 1937 residence and work permits had become increasingly difficult to obtain in France; thus Beckmann's chances for asylum there had actually diminished. Lackner 1984–85, p. 145. Nonetheless, in 1939 Beckmann received a French identity card and planned to move to Paris. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Apr. 26, 1939, no. 693, p. 46; English in Lackner, ibid., p. 151.
36. Lackner 1984–85, p. 157. See also MB to Käthe Rapoport von Porada, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, 1937: Sept. 30, Dec. 2; nos. 667, 671; pp. 22–23, 25, n. p. 367; and MB to SL, ibid., Nov. 2, 1937, no. 670, pp. 24–25, n. pp. 369–70. On the exhibition, see Berlin 1988, pp. 314–37; Holz 2004, esp. pp. 195–222. German émigré art critic Paul Westheim was initially involved in the planning, but he abandoned the project when he sensed that its political import was waning. The exhibition, featuring about fifty works by twenty-eight artists, traveled to several American museums, including the City Art Museum. Berlin 1988, p. 315.
37. Lackner 1984–85, p. 147. The show may initially have incorporated the title of the defamatory exhibition, an idea Beckmann rejected, claiming one should not keep using the ridiculous title coined by those "asses" (*Esel*). MB to Porada, Sept. 30, 1937 (note 36), p. 22.
38. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Jan. 19, 1938, no. 674, p. 28. "Echte Kunst kann nun einmal nicht durch Lärm und Agitation im journalistichen Sinne wirken." Beckmann was responding to Lackner's having mentioned seeing Piscator's film version of Anna Segher's 1928 novel *Revolt of the Fisherman of Santa Barbara* at a private showing in Paris. Ibid., no. 674, n. p. 372.
39. Ibid., no. 674, p. 28.
40. Lackner 1984–85, p. 148.
41. MB, "On My Painting" (1938); English in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 302.
42. Ibid.
43. Lackner 1984–85, p. 148.
44. Stephan Lackner, "Max Beckmann's Mystical Pageant of the World" (1938), in London et al. 1974–75, pp. 39–53.
45. Ibid., p. 51.
46. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Sept. 12, 1940, p. 11. "Wenn man dies alles—den ganzen Krieg, oder auch das ganze Leben als nur eine Szene im Theater der Unendlichkeit auffasste, ist vieles leichter zu ertragen."
47. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Nov. 20, 1939, no. 710, p. 65; English in Lackner 1984–85, p. 152.
48. Claude Gandelman questioned the then-prevailing understanding of Beckmann as "a medievalizing painter in the Expressionist tradition" by suggesting instead the inspiration of the *Simultanbühne*. Gandelman 1978, p. 472. Olaf Peters acknowledged that Gandelman's theory applied to Beckmann's fifth triptych, *Actors* (1941–42; Göpel 604), but argued for the impact on the triptychs of film techniques such as editing, camera position, and pan. Peters 2005, p. 201. See also cat. 16. Piscator used film in his theatrical productions as well.
49. As Gandelman pointed out, directions for Beckmann's play *The Hotel* (c. 1923) suggest that the stage be organized into shallow halves, as in a diptych. Gandelman 1978, p. 479.
50. Ludwig Berger, *Wir sind vom gleichen Stoff, aus dem die Träume sind: Summe eines Lebens* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1953), pp. 374–75.
51. MB to Anthony Bosman, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Mar. 15, 1947, no. 802, p. 153. For *Actors* and *Carnival*, see cat. 19, note 5.
52. Bormann 2010, pp. 126–29. Beginning in 1942, Göpel worked for the Special Linz Commission (Sonderauftrag Linz), which was charged with assembling artwork for Hitler's planned museum in the Austrian city. This allowed the art historian to travel between Holland and Germany. On the Linz museum, see Birgit Schwartz, *Hitlers Museum, Die Fotoalben der Gemäldegalerie Linz* (Vienna: Böhlau, 2004).
53. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 276.
54. Bormann 2010, p. 68. Buchholz also visited in Jan. 1942 and took several paintings back to Germany. Ibid.
55. According to Lackner, Peter Beckmann claimed to have painted them "as a joke." Lackner 1984–85, p. 154.
56. Kienle 2008, pp. 29–45; Bormann 2010, pp. 60–61.
57. New York et al. 1946.
58. Bormann 2010, p. 81.
59. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Aug. 27, 1945, no. 748, pp. 93–94; MB to CV, ibid., Sept. 4, 1945, no. 749, pp. 94–95; MB to Hanns Swarzenski, ibid., Oct. 7, 1945, no. 752, p. 98.
60. Libby Tannenbaum, "Beckmann: Saint Louis Adopts the International Expressionist," *Art News* 47, 3 (May 1948), p. 21. In his diary, Beckmann noted his interest in this article. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 24, 1948, p. 255.

Cat. 16

Film Studio

1933
Oil on canvas; 25⅝ x 37⅝ in. (65.1 x 95.6 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 848:1983

An avid theatergoer, Max Beckmann also had a lifelong love of cinema. According to Quappi Beckmann, he went once a week to the movie theater near their Frankfurt home "no matter what film was showing, just to relax and protect his eyes from too much reading."[1] As is the case with the artist's depictions of theater and circus scenes (see cats. 19–20), Beckmann's interpretation of the creation of imagery for the two-dimensional screen offers insight into his approach to and understanding of painting. Beckmann would later compare his paintings to theater sets (see the introduction to this chapter); not surprisingly in *Film Studio* the subject of movie production serves as a reflection on art-making.

In 1933, at the invitation of the noted actor Heinrich George, Beckmann visited the UFA (Universum Film Aktiengesellschaft) studio in Potsdam-Babelsberg, outside Berlin.[2] The experience likely inspired *Film Studio*. Here, beneath a large, vaulted ceiling, partitions separated by colorful curtains house several distinct sets. People appear both on stage and huddling in nooks and crannies behind the scenery.[3] The central set features a uniformed waiter in a dining room; in the left-hand scene, a solitary figure stands in a wintry, mountainous landscape; at the far right is another landscape—a barren one—through which a figure runs, his or her arms raised as if in victory.[4] The lateral scenes evoke images from a genre popular in the Weimar period, the mountain film (*Bergfilm*). Closely associated with the UFA studio and director Arnold Fanck, this type of movie celebrated alpine scenery and heroic mountain climbers or skiers.[5] Beckmann's interest in the genre may have been fueled by what film historian Eric Rentschler called its preferencing "pictorial interests" over "plot contents."[6] Usually shot on location, mountain films offered viewers breathtaking views of dramatic natural settings, but they were also indebted to nineteenth-century German romantic landscape painting.[7] In Beckmann's *Film Studio*, as in the UFA sound stage itself, flat surfaces create the illusion of the out-of-doors, much as in theater sets or in painting. Indeed, the jumbled composition captures the ambiguity, even mystery, of creating such illusions, in this case on a film stage.

A large light at the top left of *Film Studio* and several round reflectors at the bottom center frame the simultaneous activities. Other equipment is seen backlit against bright areas of background, as well as scattered throughout the space. In the left foreground, a large hand with elongated digits, poking out of a jacket sleeve and shirt cuff, directs the movement of a boxlike camera on a tripod.[8] By 1930 the Beckmanns owned a 9.5-millimeter film camera that they enjoyed using. Existing footage shows them taking turns filming each other on vacation: skiing in St. Moritz, bathing at a beach, and walking the streets of Paris with friends.[9] By depicting a hand-held commercial camera much like the type he owned, rather than one of the larger cameras typically employed in the film industry, Beckmann positioned himself and the viewer as filmmaker. The shadow of a figure at the right, signaling the presence of an otherwise unseen artist/cinematographer, was a late addition to the canvas.[10] It has been argued that Beckmann's construction of space in *Film Studio* provided the impulse for paintings of simultaneous scenes that the artist produced later in his career, as well as for his triptychs, the first of which, *Departure* (fig. 24), he painted after executing this work.[11] While Beckmann was certainly aware of avant-garde film techniques and the narrative strategies made possible by film editing, in *Film Studio* he nonetheless insisted on revealing the somewhat clumsy "hand" of the maker. His depiction of a film stage, in the end, looks much more like a theater set.

Film Studio was offered for sale when it was exhibited in Bern in 1938, but the canvas remained in Beckmann's possession until his death.[12] It was purchased by Morton D. May in 1957 from the artist's widow through the Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York.[13]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 171.

PAUL

Cat. 17

Still Life on Brown and Yellow (Champagne Bottles and Orchids)

1934, 1937
Oil on canvas; 26 x 43½ in. (66 x 110.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 849:1983

When the Beckmanns moved to Berlin in 1933, they lived in an apartment close to Tiergarten park.[1] Although they were far less social than they had been in Frankfurt, they were known to enjoy certain luxuries. Champagne—Beckmann's drink of choice throughout his life—as well as aspects of his Berlin domicile, inspired *Still Life on Brown and Yellow (Champagne Bottles and Orchids)*. On a brown table, two identical bottles—presumably referencing a brand of grand cru—flank a taller, thinner orange-colored bottle, perhaps containing liqueur. On a second table, positioned at a different angle, are three colorful apples and an orchid plant. The orchids, a recurring element in Beckmann's work (see cat. 27), are not the sensual white or purple variety that the artist often depicted, but rather are dark green. Their wide, round pot teeters on the edge of the yellow tabletop. At the far left, a black form extending the full height of the canvas implies the edge of a doorway or opening.

Here the still-life motif serves above all as an experiment in the representation of light and space. Solid areas of yellow indicate a bright, golden light source—likely the late afternoon sun—that shines from the left onto the wall behind the three bottles and onto the table with fruit. Areas of maroon (which Beckmann called "brown" in his title for the work) flatten the space, and yet here, as Reinhard Spieler observed about Beckmann's work in general, space, like light, is articulated only where it is interrupted by boundaries and objects.[2] Mirroring the black form at the left is a black partition at the center, perhaps an open door with a window, which creates an otherwise absent middle ground. Seen through this aperture, a framed rectangle of brushy gray suggests a picture within the picture.[3] The brown, vertical shape to the left of the bottles is a shadow, which implies depth. Part of a round object above the bottles at the far right further defines the background as a wall. A similar roundel, seen in a painting from the following year, *Violet Tulips (On Yellow)*, has been identified as a coffered stove tile (*Kachelofen*) (fig. 17/1).[4] Whether or not both works depict the same interior, *Still Life on Brown and Yellow* is by far the more spatially complex. The artist created a sense of volume and depth here not by staggering planes in space, as in the vertical *Violet Tulips*, but by playing with light and the apposition of horizontal elements.

Although the canvas is dated to 1934, *Still Life on Brown and Yellow (Champagne Bottles and Orchids)* appears in Beckmann's 1937 picture list.[5] Because the work gives the impression of having been executed quickly, Erhard and Barbara Göpel suggested that it may have been only minimally reworked by the artist in 1937. Pentimenti and a recent X-ray confirm that Beckmann made few compositional changes. Of these the most notable was to the table at the left, which originally extended much farther to the right, perhaps to more firmly support the pot of orchids. The artist's modification increased the instability of that object, which, combined with the extreme color contrasts, introduces a note of uneasiness to the scene.

Still Life on Brown and Yellow was acquired by 1954 from Beckmann's estate by the Hollywood agent and producer Sam Jaffe (1901–2000) and his wife, Mildred (1907–1987).[6] The Jaffes collected African and Indian art, as well as work by twentieth-century artists, including Georges Braque, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, Paul Klee, Fernand Léger, and Georges Rouault. The couple also owned a second Beckmann painting, *Still Life with Dressing Table* (1940; Göpel 561, private collection).[7] Morton D. May met the Jaffes in 1956 and purchased the present still life from them that same year.[8]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 171–72.

Fig. 17/1. Max Beckmann. *Violet Tulips (On Yellow)*, 1935. Oil on canvas; 79.5 x 40 cm. Göpel 428. Buchheim Museum, Bernried am Starnberger See.

Cat. 18

The King

1933, 1937
Oil on canvas; 53⅛ x 39⅜ in. (135 x 100 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 850:1983

One of the artist's most enigmatic canvases, *The King* underwent two distinct campaigns, one in 1933 and the other in 1937. In addition to its multivalent meanings (see below), it is revealing as a transitional work, started in one place (Frankfurt), completed in another (Berlin), and revisited and finished in a third (Amsterdam) at very different points in the history of pre–World War II Europe. After beginning the canvas in Frankfurt in February 1933, Beckmann received notice that he would lose his teaching position at the Städelschule. As noted in the introduction to this chapter, he moved to Berlin, seeking anonymity in a climate that was becoming increasingly hostile to the avant-garde. There, in late October, the artist finished the first state of *The King*. It debuted the following year in Pittsburgh at the annual Carnegie International, alongside work by other German artists as diverse as Franz Lenk and Karl Schmidt-Rotluff.

Fig. 18/1. *Max Beckmann's "The King,"* 1934. Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh.

In the first version (fig. 18/1), a crowned ruler sits splay-legged and rests his right hand on a sword hilt. A Far Eastern influence can be seen in the pose and large hoop earrings of the king, who some have likened to images of the Buddhist ideal universal ruler, Chakravartin.[1] A now largely illegible title in the artist's 1933 picture list (over which the current title is written) may refer the capital of Cyrus the Great, Pasargadae, near Persepolis.[2] However, the figure's tunic is also that of a Harlequin, complete with zigzag collar and large cuffs.[3] Beckmann frequently identified with both kings and circus performers (see cats. 20, 39), and indeed the facial features of the ruler here resemble those of the artist. The monarch's body is partly obscured by a young woman, her hair gathered in a topknot (another feature of Buddhist divinities), who sits in front of him at the left. She has been identified as the artist's wife, Quappi Beckmann.[4] Indicating their intimacy, she places her right hand gently on the man's left forearm. A shrouded female figure behind him glances mistrustfully at the king while extending her left hand, palm forward, as if in warning. Her other, darker hand points to the right, at something beyond the picture frame. With its prominent column and the figures' attire, the setting suggests a temple or, more appropriate for a Harlequin, a theater where costumed performers pose in mid-scene. Thus blurring the lines between divinities, historical figures, actors, and the everyday (as suggested by the features of the artist and his wife), Beckmann's *The King* is an early exemplar of his "Theater of Life."

After its American showings, first in Pittsburgh and then in San Francisco, *The King* returned to Beckmann.[5] In 1937 the canvas followed him to Holland, where he revisited the work in the first few months of his exile. The changes Beckmann made are striking: He repositioned the three protagonists, moving the young woman behind the ruler; he painted out the column, relegating a pale version of it to the background; and he altered the head of the woman at the right from full face to a shadowy profile. The shift in position of the young woman exposes both of the king's straddled legs. Often interpreted as indicating vulnerability, his posture may also evoke strength (for a similar pose, see cat. 38).[6] The monarch's body now demands space, and the more prominent sword signals a readiness to fight. In addition, Beckmann filled in the formerly empty background with various colors and patterns, as well as an emphatic circular shape with spokes that suggest a wheel. Against this backdrop, the figures appear flattened and, despite the canvas's considerable size, more crowded together; the circle of brushy hands in the painting's center (whom they belong to is not immediately clear) adds to the incoherence of volumes and bodies in the compressed space.

In addition to such compositional changes, Beckmann reworked the existing forms, darkening areas of monolithic color with black. All three faces, rendered in the first version

with attention to detail, were significantly altered by such additions. Detail is now only hinted at or hidden under deep, dark shadows. Any resemblance between Beckmann and the king has been obscured by the black paint that covers his forehead, eyes, and proper right side of his face, signaling either blindness or deliberate withdrawal into a private world. Although the eyes of the kneeling female figure remain open, the thick, black impasto of her pupils—globs of pigment on the canvas's surface (see fig. 18/2)—renders her stare blank and also suggests blindness. The thickness of the pigment here is even more striking when compared with the same black oil paint thinned in other areas so as to resemble quickly applied washes of India ink.[7] The head of the woman at the upper right, her profile entirely in shadow, has been likened to a mask or idol.[8]

Writing in 1938, one reviewer, while acknowledging Beckmann's skill as a colorist, noted *The King* in particular for its "nocturnal murkiness" (*nächtliche Trübe*). Indeed, the widespread application of black tempers the dissonance of the colors (red, pink, orange, yellow, and green). Considering a myriad of possible interpretations, the writer described the painting as representing "the world of dreams."[9] As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, Beckmann turned increasingly to myth and allegory in the 1930s. Likely in response to the escalation of strictures imposed by Nazi cultural policy and as hostility to his work mounted, the meaning of paintings produced in these years became increasingly hermetic.[10] While it is tempting to suggest that the changes Beckmann made to *The King*, which exudes a profound sense of melancholy, may correspond to a darkening of his psyche in Amsterdam, during his first year of exile he was able to travel and began to explore the idea of moving to the United States. That is to say, while the canvas may reflect the fear of the unknown or Beckmann's increased sense of defenselessness from outside forces after he removed himself from familiar surroundings and supporters, it may also represent a retreat into the self and into the realm of autonomous art-making that the artist had consistently championed. Such an understanding of *The King* is bolstered by the fact that, in its final form, it featured prominently in the 1938 exhibition "Twentieth Century German Art" at the New Burlington Galleries, London (see fig. 26). The initial idea behind the exhibition, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, was to showcase artists who had been publicly defamed by the National Socialists. In London for the opening, Beckmann delivered a speech, "On My Painting," in which he neither discussed artistic community nor asserted that art could or should be placed in the service of politics—prevalent themes in the artistic discourse of the period. He argued instead for artistic independence.[11] What remains consistent throughout both documented stages of this painting is the centrality of the artist—Beckmann—as king and seer (albeit in fool's clothing).

After its showing in London, *The King* was purchased by the writer Stephan Lackner (né Ernst Morgenroth; 1910–2000), a friend and supporter of Beckmann's who was instrumental in persuading him to participate in the event. The painting was likely part of an agreement the two men made that year whereby Lackner received paintings from Beckmann in exchange for continual financial support.[12] Lackner emigrated from France to the United States in 1939, settling in California.[13] The painting was shipped to him that year and in 1940 was exhibited in San Francisco and also at Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery in New York.[14] Morton D. May, who was familiar with the strength and breadth of Lackner's Beckmann collection, purchased *The King* through the Buchholz Gallery in 1950.[15]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 172–73.

Opposite: Fig. 18/2. Max Beckmann. *The King*. Detail showing the head of the kneeling woman.

Cat. 19

Acrobats

1937–39
Oil on canvas; left canvas: 78⅞ x 35¾ in. (200.3 x 90.8 cm); center canvas: 79 x 66⅛ in. (200.7 x 168 cm); right canvas: 78¾ x 35⅝ in. (200 x 90.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 851:1983a–c

Fig. 19/1. Pablo Picasso (Spanish; 1881–1973). *Two Acrobats with a Dog*, 1905. Gouache on board; 105.4 x 75 cm. The Museum of Modern Art, New York, gift of Mr. and Mrs. William A. M. Burden.

Like many of his contemporaries, Beckmann was drawn to the motif of the circus, a theme he explored throughout his career (see also cat. 20). The three large canvases that constitute *Acrobats* depict distinct realms of that milieu. From right to left, we see the circus's entrance foyer, backstage area, and public arena.[1] Nearly life-size figures—performers, acrobats, and tightrope walkers—fill each canvas. During the first few years of exile in Amsterdam, Beckmann traveled freely and spent a considerable amount of time in Paris, where he attended circus performances.[2] The large triptych—the artist's third—was inspired at least in part by the Cirque Médrano; its name appears on the hat of the blonde woman in the right section and on the orange and green pamphlets in the left one.[3] The popular circus had previously been depicted by Edgar Degas, Pierre Auguste Renoir, Georges Seurat, and Pablo Picasso, among others. Also situating *Acrobats* in a Parisian setting is a newspaper titled "PET[it] PARI[sien]," whose pages are scattered on the floor of the central scene.[4]

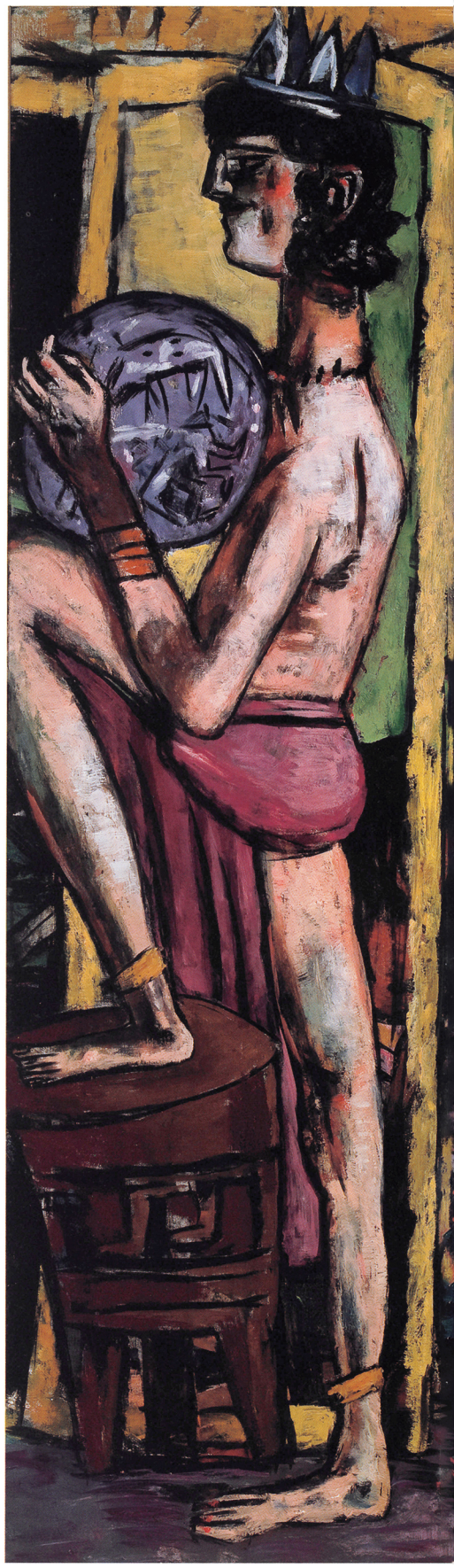
As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, for Beckmann the theater was a favorite metaphor. In 1947, grouping three of his triptychs (the earliest being *Acrobats*) under the heading "Theater of Life" (*Theater des Lebens*), he said of their meaning, "Fundamentally they are always about the theater of life and perhaps about that which is behind it."[5] In effect, *Acrobats*' complicated formal structure, numerous figures, bright palette, and brushy paint handling initially distract one from the sinister subject matter "behind it." The triptych has been unanimously understood as an allegory of war, the threat of which was ever present while Beckmann executed the work.[6] On September 1, 1939, less than one week after Beckmann declared *Acrobats* finished, the Germans invaded Poland, signaling the start of World War II.[7] The artist's picture list notes that he completed the painting on August 25, but he continued to work on it well into the fall, later referring specifically to the bearded warrior with bared teeth and bloodied hands in the right canvas as "the War."[8] Sporting traditional Roman dress like that of Mars, the Roman god of war—knee-length tunic and helmet with a large, red plume—the figure enters the scene as if he has wandered over from a neighboring stage to chat with the blond-haired young woman Beckmann called the "chocolate salesgirl" (*Chocoladenverkäuferin*).[9] She perches on the edge of a wood table in a pink uniform; her skirt is hiked up by the box in her lap, revealing her daintily crossed legs covered by white stockings. She holds an item marked "Eskimo"—a brand of ice cream—while looking coyly, or perhaps nervously, at the warrior. As Reinhard Spieler argued in his study of recurring figures and motifs in Beckmann's triptychs, the ice-cream vendor is a female variation on the liveried figure or bellboy, a character that appears in nearly every one of Beckmann's nine completed triptychs as an intermediary between the everyday and the mythological worlds.[10] In *Acrobats* the uniformed salesgirl symbolizes Germany, flirting foolishly with the personification of war.[11] In 1938 Quappi Beckmann wrote to her sister from Paris, "On Friday we went to the Cirque Médrano, it was so great! We saw wonderful, really fantastic things, like never before! And two marvelous comical clowns magnificently entertained us."[12] Indeed, in the right-hand canvas, two small clowns sitting in a cart in the foreground drink "HEID[sieck]" champagne and play music, apparently oblivious to the arrival of "the War" on the scene.

In *Acrobats*, as in *Departure*, the artist's first triptych (fig. 24), all three canvases share the same height, with the center section distinguished by its greater width and the larger scale of its three main figures.[13] Here a half-dressed blonde in bright-green boots stands next to a young male in a blue leotard. His pose and dress recall Picasso's early images of saltimbanques—itinerant circus performers—which were also inspired by the Cirque Médrano (see fig. 19/1).[14] With a snake wound around his body, Beckmann's circus performer resembles Adam in the artist's 1936 sculpture *Adam and Eve* (see fig. 19/2).[15] Locked in mutual sexual attraction and thus on the brink of imminent surrender to temptation, the painted pair further evokes the biblical Fall of Man.[16] Instead of holding Eve at his rib cage, as in the sculpture, the young man here cradles a round form whose color (white) and large size suggest that it is not the telltale apple. A lanky man in profile at the far left, wearing a crown and holding an even larger ball, stands with one foot planted firmly on a stool as if waiting to enter the ring depicted in the left-hand canvas. Since he and the smaller male performer both carry globelike shapes, they have often interpreted as clairvoyants with crystal balls. Beckmann later returned to the mysterious larger figure in a print (fig. 19/3), providing him with a larger sphere, and is said to have drawn the motif in charcoal on the wall of his Amsterdam studio.[17] While the crowned figure has been considered a ruler, Spieler thought him somewhat "ridiculous and hapless" (*dümmlich und unbeholfen*) in comparison to kings Beckmann depicted in other triptychs or to the assured central figure in *The King* (cat. 18).[18] At first hardly noticeable, a small figure in tribal dress balances on a clock with blood-red numbers at the woman's feet. The creature beats on a drum, breaking the silence required backstage during a performance. Nonetheless, the three standing figures—rigid vertical forms like the many partitions that surround them—appear frozen, oblivious to the drum's insistent and ominous sound.[19]

Throughout his career, Beckmann played very consciously with perspectival conventions (see for example cat. 14). This is the case with the left canvas of *Acrobats*, which conflates multiple viewpoints. An acrobat gripping a trapeze in midswing is pressed up against the ceiling as if seen from below. Beneath him, pictured as if straight on, a waiter carries a bottle of champagne and two glasses; two embracing lovers

Fig. 19/2. Max Beckmann's New York studio after his death, with sculptures *Self-Portrait* and *Adam and Eve*, 1950. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

Fig. 19/3. Max Beckmann. *Composition*, 1948. Lithograph; 29.5 x 22.2 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum. Neumann/Frumkin Collection, 258:2002. See Photo Credits, p. 266, for the complete credit line.



EXTRA
HEAD

balance precariously on a tightrope. Below them the safety net holds a female creature cradling a menacing, toothy red fish with feathers; two tiny birds perch beside her (see fig. 19/4). Her face is covered in clown-like makeup and is further obscured by black paint. The weight of the lovers' bodies pushes the tightrope down onto her head. Of all of the figures in the triptych, she seems the least distracted by the "theater of life" going on around her and perhaps most aware of the death and destruction threatening each scene. Uniting this canvas's disparate, even illogical, components is a thin purple flowering plant or tree that extends diagonally across the composition. Its angle mirrors that of the warrior's spear in the right-hand canvas.[20] For Olaf Peters, the plant/tree is the only element that keeps the trapeze artist, whom he described as being more somnolent than active, suspended above the tumult.[21] Sleep, like the various distractions that entertainment, love, or drink provide, is an apt metaphor for the triptych's unseeing or oblivious figures. Quappi Beckmann's ecstatic experience at the Cirque Médrano, despite the threatening conditions that had forced her and her husband into exile, demonstrates the degree to which the circus had the ability to "magnificently entertain."

Beckmann never specified exactly when he began *Acrobats*; despite the fact that all three canvases bear the date 1939, he actually started the composition two years earlier. In a letter to J. B. Neumann on December 2, 1937, the artist mentioned that he was occupied with his third triptych.[22] By February 11 of the following year, he wrote Curt Valentin that he was almost finished with it.[23] A label bearing the name Gustav Knauer, the Berlin transportation firm responsible for moving Beckmann's possessions to Amsterdam, on the stretcher of the center canvas, and the stamp of Beckmann's Berlin art supplier, Leopold Hess, on the stretcher of the left canvas, suggest that work on *Acrobats* commenced before the artist left Germany.[24] Beckmann's triptychs were often the product of several years of work and rework. The changes involved in creating this triptych and the uncertainties they suggest may also explain why, for two years, it had no name. The artist referred to it mostly as "triptych III" before assigning it the title it bears today.[25] While no known sketch depicts the entire triptych, a uniformed figure in an undated pencil sketch resembles the ice-cream girl in *Acrobats* (fig. 19/5).[26] Beckmann noted on the sketch that her hair should be "gold" and her jacket "red." He wrote in his picture list that, before finishing the canvas on August 25, he completely reworked it. The woman on a unicycle in the sketch also may have been present in an earlier state of the canvas. An X-ray of *Acrobats* reveals a large, upside-down female leg, perhaps that of the cyclist, on the right-hand side of the center composition.[27]

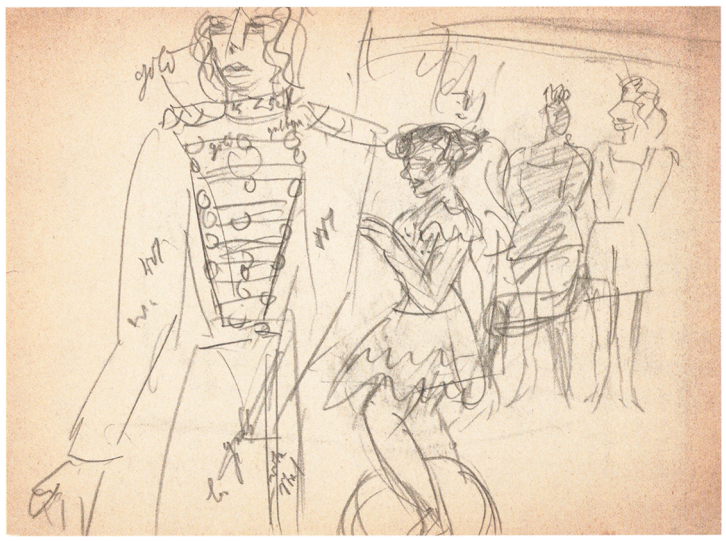


Fig. 19/5. Max Beckmann. *Vaudeville* or *Circus Study,* 1938/39. Graphite on paper; 22.8 x 30.9 cm. Long-term loan, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.

The myriad influences reflected in the three canvases—from the general (Beckmann's love of circuses) to the specific (Cirque Médrano)—accrued until, in 1939, war literally entered the picture. Like the delight the circus gave Quappi Beckmann, Beckmann's work offered distraction and encouragement. In that year, he wrote a postcard to fellow émigré Stephan Lackner: "Am hard at work. The new Three [*Le nouveau Trois*] rises from the dark waters above champagne, cadavers and the little madness of the world, up to the height of extreme clarity.—Oh, my God, life is worth living."[28]

In January 1946, Beckmann shipped *Acrobats*, along with fourteen other paintings, to Valentin in New York.[29] He sold the triptych to the dealer, along with *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21), shortly thereafter.[30] The paintings appeared in an exhibition of Beckmann's recent work at Valentin's Buchholz Gallery.[31] A review in *Time* magazine called *Acrobats* "the picture most gallery goers liked best . . . a high-flying, three-ring circus wild enough to outclass even Ringling Bros."[32] The exhibition was a commercial success even before it opened; Valentin sold the triptych to Santa Barbara–based Wright S. Ludington (1901–1992).[33] Ludington collected in a wide range of areas, from classical antiquity to modern art. He owned works by such European artists as Henri Matisse, Georges Rouault, and Picasso, including the latter's *Two Acrobats with a Dog* (fig. 19/1).[34] Stephan Lackner, who had immigrated to the United States from France in 1939, helped arrange the sale of the triptych to Morton D. May in 1955.[35]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 173–75.

Opposite: Fig. 19/4. Max Beckmann. *Acrobats*. Detail of the left canvas showing the woman in the net.

Cat. 20

Acrobat on the Trapeze

1940
Oil on canvas; 57⅜ x 35⅞ in. (145.7 x 91.1 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 852:1983

About a year after finishing his third triptych, *Acrobats* (cat. 19), Beckmann began a large composition depicting a single circus performer.[1] In *Acrobat on the Trapeze*, he offered an acrobat's-eye view on the circus. The performer has landed on a trapeze after a mid-air upswing. Filling almost the entire canvas and obscuring the expanse of the circus tent, his body meets the viewer's at an impossible height. Purple shadows heighten the contrast between the tent's bright canary yellow and the acrobat's turquoise leotard. In the distance, at the upper right, is another aerial performer, looking down at the blotches of orange and yellow that signify the crowd below. At the lower right is a tiny group of entertainers with a hoop; squiggles of black paint imply motion.

While the *Acrobats* triptych was inspired by the Paris-based Cirque Médrano, it is not known what or who directly prompted this work. "[Beckmann] was especially impressed with brightly costumed circus performers," Quappi Beckmann would recall. "The skill with which they kept their balance during difficult numbers made acrobats for him a kind of otherworldly being moving in space."[2] At such close range, the acrobat in this canvas does not display the almost superhuman virtuosity that apparently deeply impressed Beckmann. Unlike the seemingly "otherworldly" acrobat who stands behind him, the nearly life-size figure in the foreground is all sinewy flesh and taut muscle. The lack of foreshortening creates what Charles Haxthausen called a "strenuously planar" composition in which the figure's limbs appear like "discrete entities."[3] The distortions are multiple: the squatting performer's thighs are twisted one over the other in an extreme fashion, making his left leg appear to be his right one, and vice versa. His left arm clenches to his chest the shin of his seemingly disjointed right leg; his right arm wraps around the trapeze in an impossible way. X-ray analysis reveals that Beckmann repositioned the figure's right arm, thereby creating the extreme hunch of his right shoulder as the arm lifts to hold the rope. This, along with the performer's sidelong glance and open mouth, as well as the dizzying perspective from a great height, combine to create a sense of anxiousness or uncertainty. Many scholars have argued, despite Quappi Beckmann's denial, that this work might be counted among her husband's numerous self-portraits.[4] Whether or not the performer's physiognomy resembles that of the artist, Beckmann strongly identified with acrobats. "We are all tightrope walkers," he declared several years later in a statement to his American students. "With them it is the same as with artists, and with all mankind. As the Chinese philosopher Lao-tse says, we have 'the desire to achieve balance and to keep it.'"[5] In Beckmann's view, an artist must struggle between the two poles of asceticism—passion and concentration.[6] Reinhard Spieler pointed out that the painter, following ideas articulated by Friedrich Nietzsche in *Thus Spoke Zarathustra* (1883–85), believed that attaining and maintaining such equilibrium involves a constant battle between powerful, competing forces.[7]

Acrobat on the Trapeze's initial owner was Frederick A. P. Zimmermann (1906–1967), an American musician who first encountered Beckmann's work illustrated in a 1928 issue of the German journal *Der Querschnitt*.[8] In the spring of 1946, Zimmermann eagerly awaited a shipment of Beckmann's recent Amsterdam paintings to Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery, New York. By 8:30 on the morning the works arrived, Zimmermann had purchased *Before the Costume Party* (1945; Göpel 696, Landesmuseum, Mainz).[9] He acquired *Acrobat on the Trapeze* the following December.[10] Zimmermann, like Morton D. May, got to know Beckmann and became an important catalyst for the reception of the artist's work in the United States. In 1956 the musician visited May at his St. Louis home and the City Art Museum, where *Acrobats*, which the retailer had recently acquired, was on view. Zimmermann offered *Acrobat on the Trapeze* to May, who purchased it shortly thereafter. In their correspondence, the two men discussed the growing strength of May's Beckmann collection and his intentions to give it to the museum, which may have motivated the transaction.[11]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 175.

Cat. 21

Young Men by the Sea

1943
Oil on canvas; 75⅜ x 39½ in. (191.5 x 100.3 cm)
Museum Purchase, 106:1946

Four men are gathered on a narrow strip of sand. At the center, one sits with his back to the viewer, a towel slung over his left shoulder and his right arm helping to support his erect posture. His view of the water is blocked by a shrouded, cross-armed figure wearing a long, blue cloth. At the right stands a pale youth playing a flute; a musical score protrudes jauntily from the waistband of his short, yellow swimming trunks. Frequently referred to as Apollo, the flutist faces a bearded man at the left, who has been identified as his Dionysian counterpart. Thus, the object the latter cradles has often been identified as a flagon of wine. In the lower-left corner, driftwood, or part of a beach chair, in black and red, creates a modicum of space between the viewer and the scene. A sliver of moon and the painting's cool palette suggest that it is night, with touches of red in the sky hinting at the break of day. The mixture of some of the colors with white lends the large painting the feeling of a fresco. The resulting matte hues contrast with distinct areas of shine, particularly in the skin tone of the leftmost figure's face and arms. The repetition of colors, such as the yellow of the seated youth's towel and the shorts of his lanky companion to the right, increases the overall harmony.

As discussed in the introduction to this chapter, from the 1930s on, Beckmann turned increasingly to mythological subjects, but this was not an entirely new genre for him. The classical theme here of young male bathers—along with the flute player, whose bathing suit's cursory execution indicates that he was intended at one point to be nude[1]—harkens back to a seminal work, a 1905 painting of the same name (fig. 21/1). Executed when Beckmann was studying the figures of Renaissance artist Luca Signorelli and the bathers of Paul Cézanne, the early canvas led to the young artist's initial success. It became the first of his paintings to enter a museum collection, and the young Beckmann received a fellowship to the Villa Romana in Florence.[2] In 1946 Beckmann himself explained the nature of the connection between the early *Young Men by the Sea* and the present work. He described the later canvas as "still from the same man I was then; one has simply lived through more or less since then."[3] The young men

Fig. 21/1. Max Beckmann. *Young Men by the Sea*, 1905. Oil on canvas; 148 x 235 cm. Göpel 18. Kunstsammlungen zu Weimar.

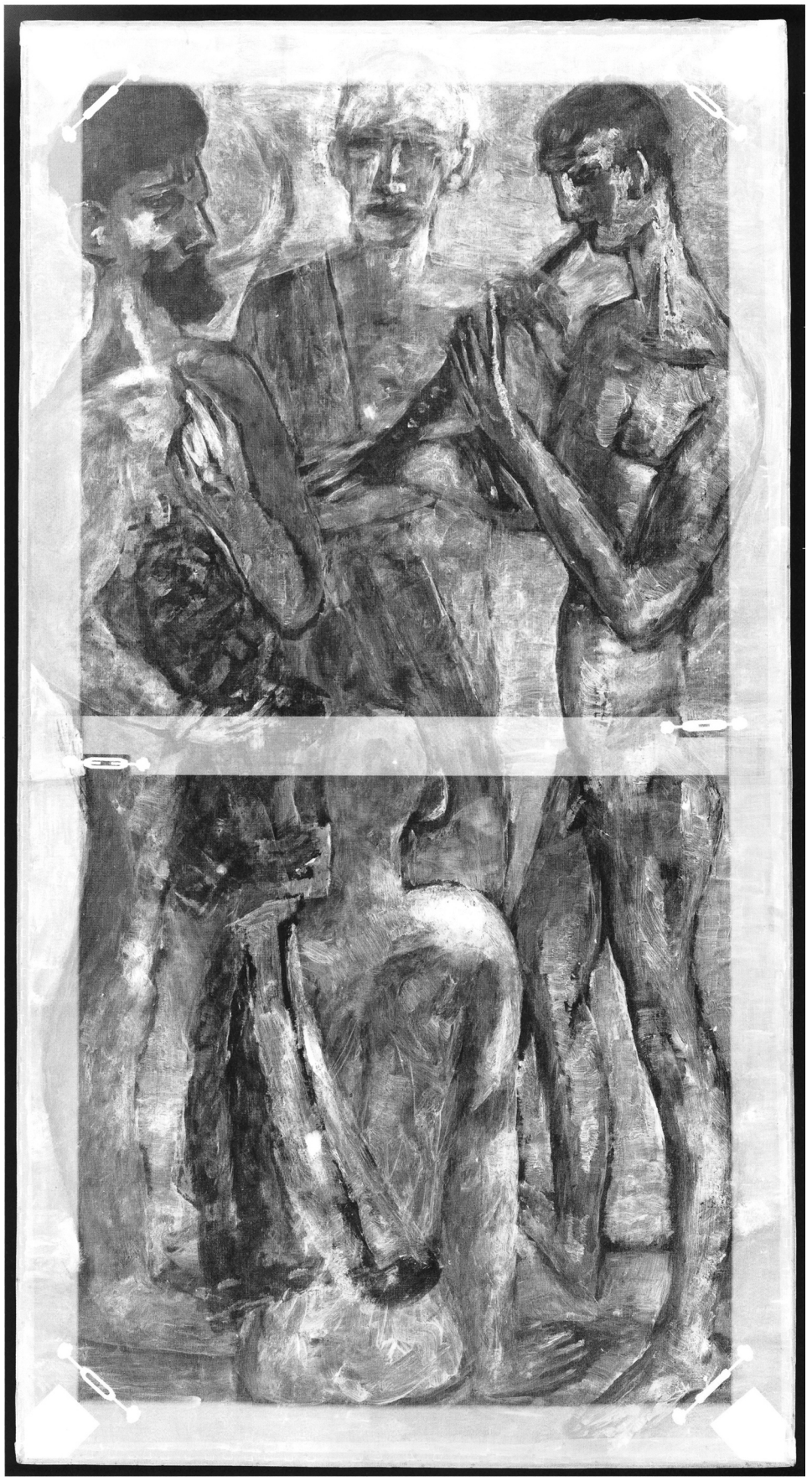


Fig. 21/2. Max Beckmann. *Young Men by the Sea*, 1943. X-ray showing changes in the central standing figure.

Fig. 21/3. Max Beckmann. *The Argonauts*, 1949/50. Oil on canvas; left canvas: 184.1 x 85.1 cm, center canvas: 205.8 x 122 cm, right canvas: 185.4 x 85 cm. Göpel 832. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., gift of Mrs. Max Beckmann, 1975.96.1.a–c.

in the 1943 canvas and, retroactively, those in the earlier composition acquired specific symbolic meaning in light of Beckmann's lived experience. Significantly, around the time that the painter was putting the final touches on this canvas, Wolfgang Frommel, a fellow German émigré in Amsterdam, revived his interest in the saga of the Argonauts—the band of heroic sailors who accompanied Jason on his search for the Golden Fleece.[4] Frommel had written a study on the subject, which he lent to the artist, and referred to his own Amsterdam émigré circle as "Argonauts."[5] Beckmann had noted in his picture list that the painting was completed in 1942. In February 1943, Frommel visited the artist in his studio; the discussion between them may have influenced several key changes to the composition.[6] Beckmann then gave him a photograph of the 1905 canvas, thanking him for "das Argonauten-Gespräch" (the Argonaut conversation).[7] An X-ray indicates that the central standing figure initially had curly blond hair; only later did Beckmann add the shroud, transforming him from a young bather into something much more mysterious (fig. 21/2).

Sailboats dot the low horizon, which, as infrared examination revealed, was once much higher, running at the level of the necklines of the standing men. In the composition's final state, the sea is less a constricting backdrop than it is an open, inviting expanse. Indeed, the entire scene oscillates between the contemplative harmony of the moment and the sense of impending departure. Interrupting the flutist's tune, the bearded figure in the St. Louis painting seems to be using his left hand to signal that it is time to move on. The object he clasps is not a flask but rather a tortoise, a creature known for the great distances it travels during its lengthy life span. Where sea meets shore, the journey either ends or begins. Indeed, the topic captured Beckmann's imagination to such an extent that he returned to it in 1949/50 in his final triptych, *The Argonauts* (fig. 21/3).

Young Men by the Sea was purchased in February 1946 by Curt Valentin, and it entered the City Art Museum in St. Louis shortly thereafter.[8] With this acquisition—the first work by Beckmann bought by the institution—the museum's director, Perry Rathbone, demonstrated an early and prescient interest in Beckmann's art. In fact, in the summer of 1947, he visited the artist's studio in Amsterdam.[9] Just two months before he immigrated to the United States, Beckmann received a poem about *Young Men by the Sea*, which was by then on view at the City Art Museum. The artist expressed surprise at the rightness of the anonymous writer's interpretation.[10] The central standing figure, described in the poem as a mystic, declares, "The sea and the shore and the sky and we, shall never be bound, nor ever set free. Everything is a part of me as I am a part of infinity."[11]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 175–76.

Cat. 22

Small Stormy Sea

1944
Oil on canvas; 17 11/16 x 33 5/8 in. (44.9 x 85.4 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 853:1983

"My studio in Amsterdam, an enormous old tobacco storeroom," wrote Beckmann in 1938, "is again filled in my imagination with figures from the old days and from the new, like an ocean moved by storm and sun and always present in my thoughts."[1] After 1940 Beckmann's ability to travel was severely restricted, and yet he painted more landscapes during this period than ever before, relying on memory but also letting his imagination run freely. In *Small Stormy Sea*, turbulent blue-green waves almost fill the canvas, save for a strip of violet sky. As in many of Beckmann's land- and seascapes, the foreground is cluttered. A window, flags, and rounded forms that resemble rocks or boats pulled ashore in anticipation of the storm impede the view. Only a small stretch of graveled beach at the bottom center leads to the water and counters the anxious, even claustrophobic, feeling of the composition.

From the forced isolation of his tobacco-storeroom studio, Beckmann repeatedly escaped to beloved and yet unreachable destinations. One image "from the old days" that Beckmann imagined again and again in Amsterdam was the French Riviera. He had visited the Mediterranean coast several times in the 1930s, attracted by the unique character of this fashionable vacation spot.[2] He produced an estimated forty-two landscapes of the Côte d'Azur over his career, none of which he painted on site.[3] For many the artist used photographs and postcards to bolster his memory (see cat. 11).[4] *Small Stormy Sea* offers little in the way of recognizable landmarks, and no photograph in the artist's estate relates directly to it.[5] Despite the fact that he dated the painting to 1945 in his picture list, it likely belongs, as the date on the canvas indicates, to a group of works depicting the Riviera completed in 1944. The small, pointy flags and rounded formations for example are similar to those in *Cliffs near Bandol* of that year (fig. 22/1). Typically, Beckmann's paintings of the Riviera depict sun-filled vistas with wide horizons and peaceful waters.[6] In *Small Stormy Sea*, however, the ominous storm precludes the expression of natural beauty and pleasure present in other canvases. While scholars have related this and other works to the bouts of depression and ill-health the artist suffered during this period, the present painting speaks not just to the ebb and flow of Beckmann's emotional life but also to the waxing and waning of hope for an end to the war.[7] In his picture list, he referred to *Small Stormy Sea* explicitly as a wartime painting: "at war" (*im Krieg*). The work, like many from this period, can thus be understood as Beckmann's reflection of the political and military developments across Europe. It functions as a metaphor of memory and imagination and of life as an ever-changing ocean filled with past, present, and invented experience.

Beckmann consigned *Small Stormy Sea* to Curt Valentin after the war, along with a number of other Amsterdam pictures.[8] It was one of seven paintings that Morton D. May purchased through Valentin's Buchholz Gallery in July 1950, including Beckmann's *Portrait of Fred Conway* (cat. 34) and *Boulder—Rocky Landscape* (cat. 36).[9]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 176.

Fig. 22/1. Max Beckmann. *Cliffs near Bandol*, 1944. Oil on canvas; 63 x 99 cm. Göpel 666. Private collection.

Cat. 23

Portrait of Ludwig Berger

1945
Oil on canvas; 53⅜ x 35⅜ in. (135.6 x 89.9 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 854:1983

During his extended exile in Amsterdam, Beckmann became associated with a number of other German émigrés.[1] Among them was Berlin theater and film director, author, and art historian Ludwig Berger (né Bamberger; 1892–1969; fig. 23/1). Berger, who was Jewish, had left Germany by 1938, but continued to make films in Paris, England, and the Netherlands until the occupation of the latter "forced him underground."[2] The two men met after the end of World War II, in the summer of 1945.[3] Thereafter, the Beckmanns frequently attended theatrical performances, concerts, and readings hosted by Berger, and Quappi Beckmann played the violin in a string quartet that performed at his home.[4] Beckmann, who loved the theater and movies, was likely attracted to Berger's "romantic" style: his signature work stood in contrast to the mannered expressionist theater and films of 1920s Berlin. As the theater critic Friedrich Luft later said, "Ludwig Berger was and is the archetype of the sensitive artist. His world is the world of fairy tales."[5] Upon seeing Beckmann's work for the first time, Berger was struck by the artist's daring ambition, especially in his large 1940–41 triptych *Actors* (Göpel 604; Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts). And yet for him Beckmann was above all a "storyteller" (*Erzähler*) who "filled [his paintings] to the brim with meaning." Berger called them "modern myths captured on canvas."[6]

In the present portrait, Berger's solid form fills the large canvas. Seated on an ornamental, teal-hued chair, he appears lost in thought, even slightly melancholy. As he had with the face of art historian Curt Glaser (cat. 12), Beckmann here applied flesh tones over a scraped purple glaze to impart a sense of density. To depict Berger's pinstripe jacket, he scraped away blue paint, perhaps with a palette knife, and added strokes of green, the color he used to highlight the sitter's combed, white hair. A sensitive portrayal of a successful man, *Portrait of Ludwig Berger* combines the strong physicality of the subject with such subtle details as his pencil-thin nose and elegant, long fingers. Lightly holding two purple lotus blossoms, Berger appears to brush them gently against his left hand.

Beckmann began work on the canvas in September 1945.[7] This was a period of extreme financial hardship for him (see the introduction to this chapter and cat. 24) and his fellow exiles. The evenings at Berger's home offered a welcome respite and inspired the artist to sketch his host.[8] Berger's face

Fig. 23/1. Ludwig Berger, no date. Stiftung Stadtmuseum, Berlin.

in the final canvas closely resembles that in a pencil drawing Beckmann made surreptitiously, according to Berger, during a theatrical performance (fig. 23/2).[9] The drawing pays particular attention to Berger's large eyes. Another, more hastily drawn image, from a sketchbook, shows him in profile (fig. 23/3).[10] Only Berger's "mother-of-pearl hands," as he later referred to them, required a special sitting in the artist's studio.[11] In the painting, Beckmann underscored their significance by covering the armrest below his subject's right arm in black, further emphasizing the sitter's elongated fingers. Upon seeing the canvas, Berger questioned the addition of the two purple flowers. He recalled, "'But you had a bit of fun with me, maestro?' I said looking at the lotus. 'No, no . . . ,' said Beckmann. 'That's how you ARE!!'"[12]

Berger, who knew of Beckmann's interest in theosophical thought and Indian mysticism, came to understand the inclusion of the lotus blossoms as a compliment. Indeed, the director later mentioned seeing a worn copy of *The Secret Doctrine* (1888) by Helena P. Blavatsky on the artist's nightstand at that time.[13] Madame Blavatsky, whose work Beckmann read avidly after 1934, regarded the lotus as a symbol of productivity and new life.[14] Thus this flower, a type of water lily that grows in muddy conditions, expresses hope for Berger's success after the war. The director spent a short time in New York, where he and Beckmann briefly reconnected.[15] Unlike the painter, however, Berger failed to establish solid footing in the United States; in 1947 he returned to Germany, where he remained until his death. He dedicated himself largely to the study of William Shakespeare and received widespread recognition for some of the first productions on German television.[16]

Portrait of Ludwig Berger was displayed prominently in Curt Valentin's exhibition of Beckmann's wartime work in 1946.[17] Although the portrait had not been commissioned, Beckmann hoped Berger would acquire it and gave him the right of first refusal.[18] The director visited Valentin's gallery, but declined to purchase the canvas.[19]After Valentin's death, the painting transferred on commission to the Catherine Viviano Gallery and entered Morton D. May's collection in 1956.[20] May appears to have purchased this and *Valentine Tessier* (cat. 13) with little-to-no knowledge of the sitters' identities, only learning more about them later on.[21]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 176–77.

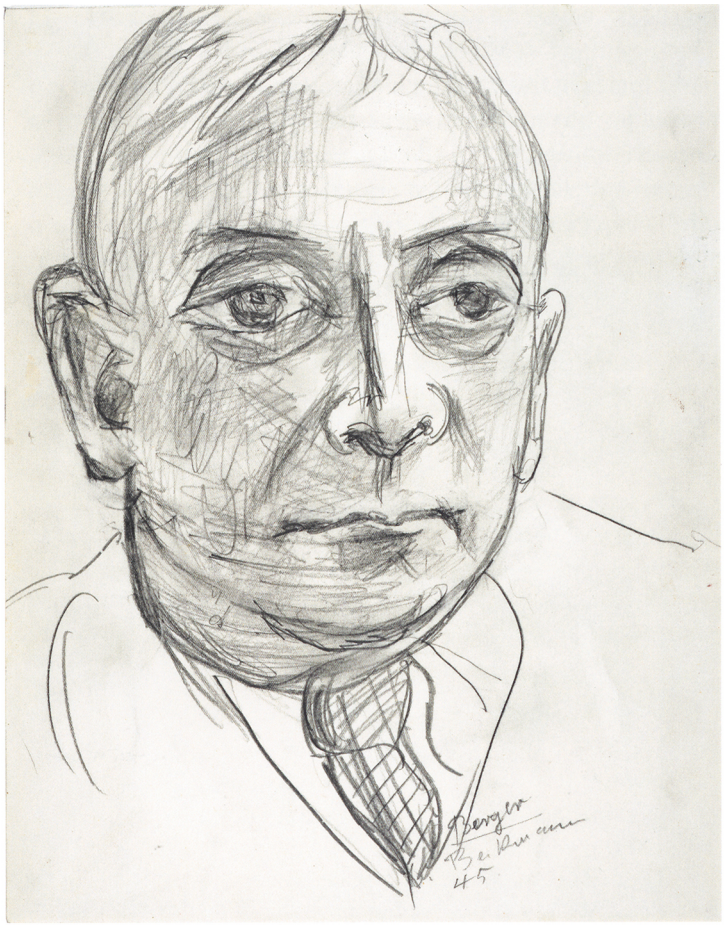


Fig. 23/2. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for the "Portrait of Ludwig Berger,"* 1945. Graphite on paper; 30.4 x 23.2 cm. Stiftung Stadtmuseum, Berlin.

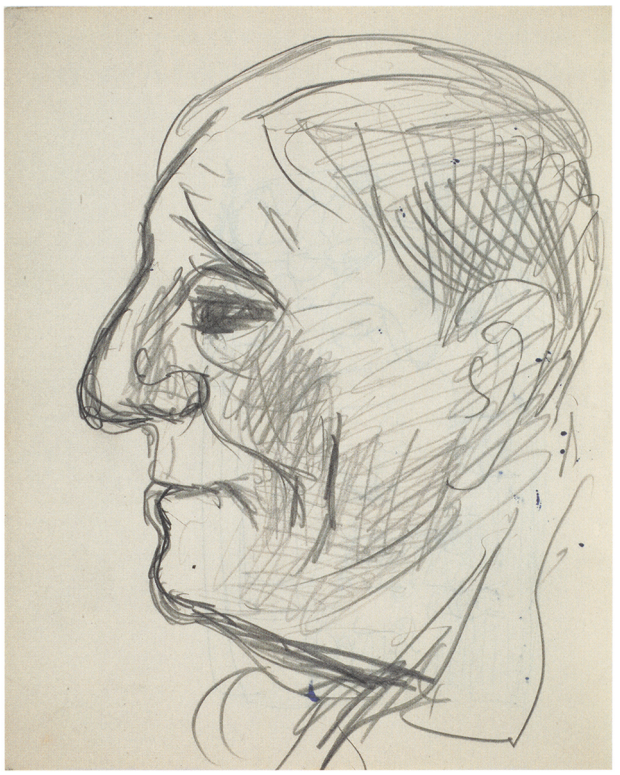


Fig. 23/3. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for the "Portrait of Ludwig Berger,"* c. 1945. Graphite on paper; 20.7 x 16.3 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., gift of Mrs. Max Beckmann, 1984.64.38.20.

Cat. 24

Studio (Female Nude and Sculpture)

1946
Oil on canvas; 35¾ x 53¼ in. (90.8 x 135.3 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 857:1983

Despite the limited availability of art supplies in post-war Amsterdam, the first months of 1946 were some of the most productive of Beckmann's career. In a letter to his New York dealer Curt Valentin, Beckmann requested oil paints in specific colors and other materials: "Badly need a whole lot of canvas . . . there is hardly any available here. The last bed linens have been painted."[1] In effect, a bedsheet, stretched and primed, served as the support for *Studio (Female Nude and Sculpture)*.[2] In the painting, the woman—with brilliant yellow hair and bright-red finger- and toenail polish—reclines on a bed. Facing her on a small, round table is a dark statue of a male head and upper torso. The sculpture's muscular right arm, truncated at the elbow, is raised as if to salute the monumental female.[3] Also on the table are wedges of fruit, perhaps exotic papaya. Nearby lies a knife not unlike the one that Beckmann used when he was actively working with plaster (see cat. 26) in Berlin. Indeed, he initially painted the sculpture in *Studio* white, later darkening it with black paint, just as he did with his own plaster models to suggest the look of cast bronze (see figs. 19/2 and 23).

Beckmann's canvas can be understood as a mid-twentieth-century version of a traditional subject, the reclining female nude. Beckmann explicitly praised Édouard Manet's *Olympia* (fig. 24/1), which he saw on his first visit to Paris, in 1903–4.[4] That painting's debut caused a major scandal, for it both participates in the traditional theme and upends it by its brazen portrayal of a prostitute receiving an offering from an unseen admirer. As T. J. Clark observed, by giving *Olympia*'s "female subject a particular sexuality as opposed to a general one," Manet challenged the conventional presentation of a sensuous nude to a (male) viewer.[5] Perceived similarities between Manet's composition and Beckmann's nude led either Valentin or the canvas's eventual owner, Morton D. May, to suggest that it be called *Olympia* as well.[6] Beckmann is said to have agreed to the title change, even though he had chosen to depict a studio setting rather than a harem or boudoir, as in Manet's painting. Moreover, by nearly filling the canvas with the curvaceous nude, ostensibly posing for the unseen artist, he created a much more straightforward expression of sexual desire than had his French predecessor. As Stephan Lackner, Beckmann's friend and supporter, put it, the "swelling fleshiness" of the painting's female protagonist rivals even the fertility of the prehistoric Venus of Willendorf.[7] The statue's extended arm, its shape echoed by the knife, is a phallic form, and yet the expression of male virility is complicated by the sculpture's incompleteness. The fruit, sharply cut through by the knife, add to the composition's menacing tone. Thus, in the wake of war, Beckmann embedded sex and thwarted violence into a work bearing a deceptively simple, descriptive title.

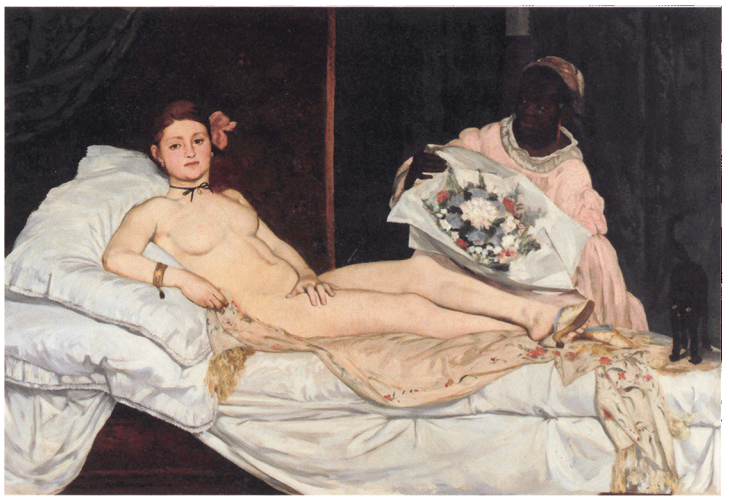


Fig. 24/1. Édouard Manet (French; 1832–1883). *Olympia*, 1863. Oil on linen; 130.5 x 190 cm. Musée d'Orsay, Paris.

According to Beckmann's picture list, *Studio (Female Nude and Sculpture)* first went to art dealer J. B. Neumann.[8] Erhard and Barbara Göpel identified émigré dealer Herbert Tannenbaum (1892–1958) as the painting's next owner.[9] Defamed in the Nazi press for being Jewish, as well as for supporting modern art, Tannenbaum left Germany in 1937 for Amsterdam, where he met Beckmann.[10] Tannenbaum expressed interest in purchasing several works by the artist in 1946 and, according to the artist's income list, bought two canvases late that year, but no specific documentation has been found regarding his purchase of *Studio*.[11] Tannenbaum immigrated to the United States in the summer of 1947. At some point, the work went to Curt Valentin, and Morton D. May purchased it from Valentin's Buchholz Gallery in 1949.[12]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 177–78.

Cat. 25

Large Laren Landscape with Windmill

1946
Oil on canvas; 51½ x 29¾ in. (130.8 x 75.6 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 856:1983

Beckmann remained committed to landscape painting throughout his career, even when travel restrictions rendered firsthand experiences impossible.[1] During World War II, the artist's memories of Germany, southern France (see cat. 22), and the Dutch countryside served as inspiration for a number of canvases. When the war ended, the Beckmanns were finally able to resume their beloved bicycle rides around Holland. On two occasions, in the late spring and early summer of 1946, they stayed in one of their favorite vacation spots, a town called Laren, located southeast of Amsterdam.[2] Inspired by these visits, on June 18, 1946, Beckmann began work on this painting—a high, almost bird's-eye, view of a windmill and the landscape beyond. Given the predominance of horizontal formats in the landscape genre, as well as the dominant characteristics of Netherlandish topography, *Large Laren Landscape with Windmill*'s verticality is surprising. Despite the canvas's considerable size—Beckmann acknowledged this by including the word "Grosse" (large) in the title—space is tight, almost claustrophobic. The windmill's angled arms frame the composition at the upper and lower right and, together with the slanted yellow rooftop at the left and the group of pine trees above it, accentuate the canvas's vertical format.[3] Two small figures in traditional Dutch attire stand below at a crossroads, as if meeting by chance. Beyond them is an orderly homestead with a field and a wood structure, perhaps for growing beans. Farther in the distance can be seen a tiny, second windmill in a stretch of land. The scene seems to be threatened by an oncoming storm.

In his diary, Beckmann also called this work his "green Laren landscape." The harmonious mix of colors—violet, black, and several shades of green and greenish yellow—is striking when compared to the dissonant palette that is more

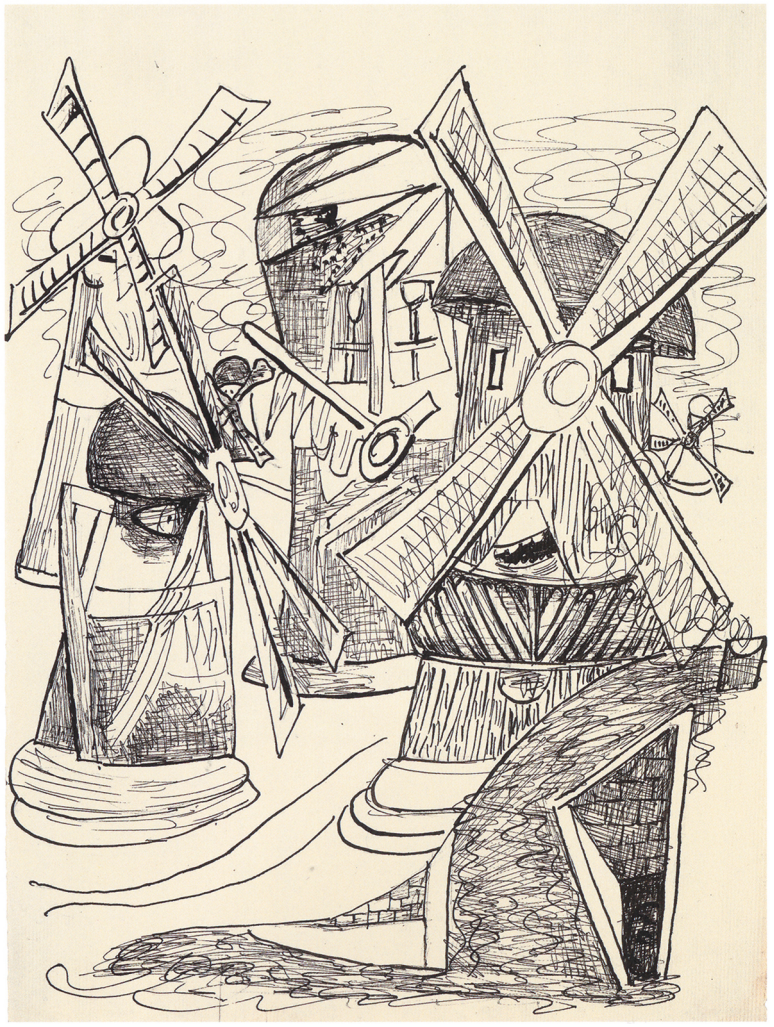


Fig. 25/1. Max Beckmann. *The Windmills*, 1946. Pen, ink, and pencil on paper; 33 x 24.7 cm. Private collection, Berlin.

Fig. 25/2. Max Beckmann. *The Mill,* 1947. Oil on canvas; 138.4 x 128 cm. Göpel 749. Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, Museum Purchase: Helen Thurston Ayer Fund, 50.5.

typical of his oeuvre. Struggling with this composition, Beckmann stopped work on it on August 15 but planned to return to it again later, a habit of revisiting canvases that Erhard Göpel likened to the parental urge to discipline an "ill-bred child."[4] Two weeks after setting the painting aside, however, Beckmann's opinion changed dramatically; he apparently decided that the composition no longer required discipline. "Laren landscape good after all," he wrote. "Put me in a good mood. Talented after all."[5]

As was the case with all of his late landscapes (see cats. 22, 36), *Large Laren Landscape* was executed not at the site of inspiration, but rather after Beckmann returned to his studio. While several related drawings are known, none relates directly to the final composition. One ink and pencil drawing is equally crowded but lacks the painting's high perspective (fig. 25/1). Instead, its menacing windmills—anthropomorphized with a single large eye and crookedly chomping teeth—tower above a small, slightly obscured footpath. Another sheet, also vertical in format, features a path leading to distant dunes, evoking the flat, open Dutch landscape.[6] Arguing that, because Beckmann was an "enemy alien" (*feindlicher Ausländer*) in post-war Amsterdam, his freedom was restricted, Beatrice von Bormann connected the symbolic content of his landscapes with that of his figurative compositions from this period.[7] The painting has frequently been cited as a predecessor to one of the following year, *The Mill* (fig. 25/2), also known as *Balloon with Windmill*.[8] In the latter, the windmill motif has been transformed into an instrument of torture. The unmitigated sense of violence of the 1947 composition led Quappi Beckmann to regard it as the "most evil and depressing thing I know of his."[9] Most likely intended as a study in color, *Large Laren Landscape* focuses on human cultivation of the land. Agricultural work, seen in the faraway sliver of landscape, evokes an idyllic setting, but, when seen up close, it becomes foreboding.

Curt Valentin purchased *Large Laren Landscape with Windmill* in 1946.[10] In 1955 Gertrude Lenart (née Turnovská; 1914–1994) acquired it from Valentin's estate (she was close to the dealer, who had died in 1954).[11] Lenart had just married the St. Louis–based architect William Adair Bernoudy (1910–1988).[12] Bernoudy, whose designs were indebted to those of Frank Lloyd Wright, was friendly with Max and Quappi Beckmann during their time in St. Louis; in their diaries, they frequently referred to him as "Bill."[13] Although he had expressed interest in purchasing a painting from the artist, Bernoudy apparently never did so. At the time of his marriage, he owned, in the words of his biographer, a "few decorative objects" that were "eclipsed" by his new wife's collection of modern painting and sculpture.[14] In 1959 Lenart Bernoudy sold the painting to Morton D. May, whom both Bernoudys knew.[15] Although he did not explain why, May believed the landscape to be a better fit for his collection than a Beckmann painting he referred to as *Girl in Front of Mirror* of 1948, which it replaced.[16]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 178–79.

Cat. 26

Sculptor's Studio

1946
Oil on canvas; 39¾ x 47¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (101 x 121.1 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 855:1983

Beckmann's *Sculptor's Studio*, also known as *Studio Corner*, is, as both titles suggest, a meditation on the space of the artist.[1] Like his *Film Studio* (cat. 16) and numerous still lifes (see for example cat. 17), the painting is as well a playful visual puzzle in its simultaneous representation and obfuscation of two- and three-dimensional elements. In his diary, Beckmann referred to the painting as "Mirror Studio" (*Spiegelatelier*), indicating that the large rectangular and circular forms dominating the composition are mirrors.[2] Angled to reflect aspects of the crowded interior, the mirrors offer multiple vantage points. At the right is the reflection of a naked woman seen from behind—perhaps a model preparing to pose. She could be a figure in the pink-hued painting with a bright yellow sun beyond her were it not for the slight extension of her head beyond what might be read as the picture's edge.[3] A bouquet of flowers in front of that same mirror is not reflected in it; the place it should appear is occupied instead by a totemic male head. At the center is a rectangular mirror that contains the reflection of a third mirror, with a blue oval frame. The continuation of the curved form of this mirror into that on the right flattens the composition, challenging all of the aforementioned elements that suggest three-dimensional space. Further complicating the painting's structure is the white cloth draped over the top of the rectangular mirror's frame. Beckmann added this detail later, covering what once was a fully delineated surround. Rather than reinforcing the sense of the mirror as a concrete object, the cloth is effectively cropped by the reflection in the mirror, as if the illusion of what is seen there may be winning the push and pull between what is real, reflected, and imagined.

Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer rightly compared *Sculptor's Studio* to other studio images in Beckmann's oeuvre, such as *Studio (Night)* (fig. 15/1), in which the artist becomes a magician wielding "unearthly powers."[4] On the present canvas—whose weave is heavier than most Beckmann used—the paint is thick, probably applied in several layers, which suggests that the artist worked out a number of ideas before settling on the final composition.[5] In effect, an X-ray reveals that the sculpture at the left had a masculine profile but was changed at some point in the painting's evolution (fig. 26/1). The now female statue with clawlike hands—her body covered by a cloth and bisected by an upright sword—has been likened to a mythological Siren.[6]

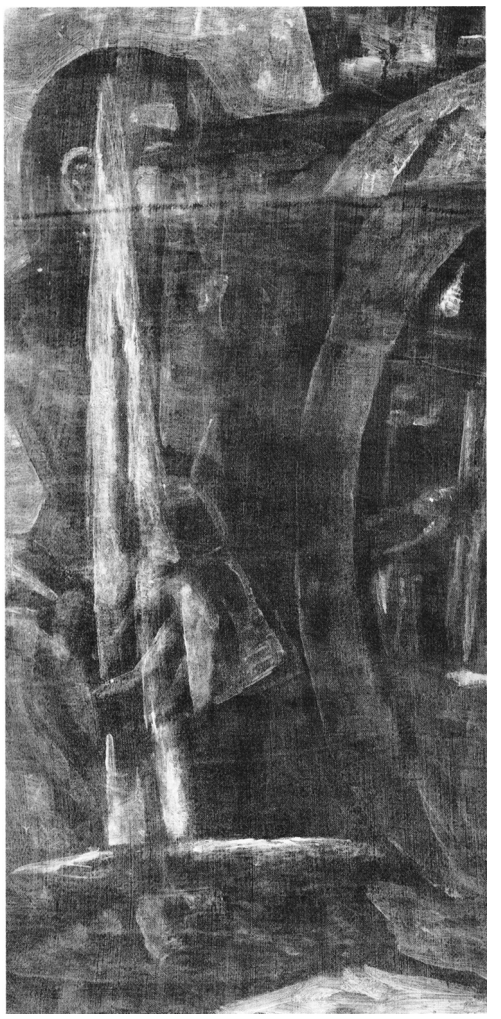


Fig. 26/1. *Sculptor's Studio*. X-ray showing the sculpture of a female with clawlike hands at the left.

The primary title the painter gave the composition, *Sculptor's Studio*, also situates it, like *Studio (Night)*, in relationship to Beckmann's relatively small body of three-dimensional work. In 1934 the artist began to sculpt in clay; he made a total of eight sculptures in his lifetime, all of which represent the human figure (see the introduction to this chapter). These, including the life-size *Self-Portrait* (fig. 23), were later cast in bronze. Although not a representation of his sculpted self-portrait, the head at the right of *Sculptor's Studio* nonetheless presents a profile suggestive of the artist's own.[7] Fischer noted that the drapery over the clawed figure may also relate directly to the artist's practice, as he would likely have covered his sculptures at night with a wet cloth to keep the clay moist.[8] Beckmann was not sculpting when he produced the present painting, but sculpture plays an important role in painted depictions of his studio throughout his later career (see for example cat. 24).[9]

Sculptor's Studio is one of only a small number of works that Beckmann's dealer Curt Valentin purchased for himself (see also cat. 8).[10] Valentin referred to it as "one of my favorite paintings."[11] He reluctantly parted with the canvas in 1949, just two years after purchasing it, when he sold it to Israel (1912–1988) and Selma (1912–2005) Rosen.[12] One of the Rosens' first acquisitions, *Sculptor's Studio* was the only work by Beckmann and one of the few figurative paintings that the couple owned. Over the years, they focused increasingly on modern French and contemporary American art. *Sculptor's Studio* hung prominently in the Rosens' Baltimore home (see fig. 26/2) for sixteen years, in close proximity to works by such artists as Georges Braque and Fernand Léger.[13] In 1965 the Rosens sold the painting to Morton D. May, likely in order to have more means to strengthen their already notable collection of abstract expressionism.[14]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 179.

Fig. 26/2. Selma and Israel Rosen with Max Beckmann's *Sculptor's Studio* (cat. 26), Baltimore, 1950s. Collection of Linda Rosen Kushner.

Documentation and Notes

Cats. 16–26

Cat. 16
Film Studio, 1933

Oil on canvas; 25⅝ x 37⅝ in. (65.1 x 95.6 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 848:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / B. 33*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas, c., in white chalk: *22*[illegible] *2*[illegible]
On stretcher, u.c., l.c., in graphite: *37 ½*
In department files: on torn red label, printed: *No. 9 /* [in ink:] *Max Beckmann / Film atelier 1933 / Farb 65:95* [illegible]; on white label, printed: *CATHERINE VIVIANO GALLERY / 42 east 57 street new york 22, n.y. /* [printed:] *Artist* [in blue ink:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *Title* [in blue ink:] *Film Studio /* [printed:] *No.* [in blue ink:] *Date 1933* [printed:] *Size* [in blue ink:] *25¾ x 37½*; on browned label, printed: *CURT VALENTIN GALLERY / 32 EAST 57TH STREET. NEW YORK /* [typed:] *Film Studio. 1933 / oil / Max Beckmann* [in graphite:] *25¾ x 37½ /* [typed:] *No. 12660 /* [in blue ink:] *Qu*[illegible]; on torn masking tape, in ink: *71*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Lightweight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and lean, with thicker black paint applied selectively. Brush texture throughout. The white specks seen primarily in black areas are small bubbles of ground material that have broken through the upper paint layer. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In the early 1980s, Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann; sold (Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York), May 21, 1957, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1933 (Berlin): Filmatelier beendet. 3. Juli*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 323, p. 73. Göpel 1976, no. 374, vol. 1, pp. 257, 525, 547, 554; vol. 2, p. 127 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Westheider 1995, p. 164, n. 152. New York 1996–97, p. 45. Peters 2005, p. 192 (ill.), n.pag., fig. 11 (color). Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 96, n. 11. Washton Long/Makela 2009, p. 250.

EXHIBITIONS: Bern 1938, cat. 12, p. 4. Winterthur 1938, cat. 14, p. 19. New York 1954, cat. 4, n.pag. New York 1955, cat. 1, n.pag. St. Louis 1960, cat. 54, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 62, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 60, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 16, pp. 7, 8 (ill.). Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 53, p. 40; Munich 1968–69, cat. 51, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 53, p. 40. Bremen 1969b, cat. E5, n.pag.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 13, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 20, pp. 11, 56 (ill.). Omaha 1971, cat. 7, pp. 20 (ill.), 59. Allentown 1974, cat. 47, p. 21 (ill.). London et al. 1974–75, cat. 16, pp. 9, 15 (ill.). Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 3, pp. 24, 25 (color ill.), 26. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 25, pp. 104, 110, 111 (color ill.), 231. Bern 2006, pp. 9 (color ill.), 14, 23, 156.

NOTES
1. Beckmann MQ 1985, p. 17. "Ganz gleich, was für ein Film gerade lief, nur um sich zu entspannen und seine Augen vor allzu vielem Lesen zu schonen."
2. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 257. According to the Göpels, the Beckmanns had hoped to meet German film star Marlene Dietrich there (*The Blue Angel*, the 1930 movie that skyrocketed Dietrich to international stardom, was filmed at Babelsberg). Dietrich, however, had left Berlin for the U.S. in 1930; she returned to the German capital but stayed only from Dec. 1930 to Apr. 1931. E-mail from Silke Ronneburg, Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin, to the author, Mar. 25, 2010. Given all the publicity surrounding Dietrich's departure, Beckmann and George must have been aware that she was no longer filming there in 1933.
3. With a connection like that of George, Beckmann could have visited the sound stage (*Tonkreuz*), built in 1929. George, who had become famous for his work in the modernist theater, made the first UFA Nazi propaganda film, *Hitlerjunge Quex*, that summer. According to Matthias Struch, Filmmuseum Potsdam, an unofficial visit such as that of Beckmann was possible when accompanied by studio personnel. E-mail from Struch to author, Feb. 2, 2010. For more on the relationship of Beckmann and George, see Barbara Buenger, "Heinrich George's Wallenstein in Red," in London/New York 2003, pp. 164–68.
4. The following films were made at UFA during the first half of 1933: Richard Schneider-Edenkoben's *Du sollst nicht begehren* (You Shall Not Covet), Geza von Bolvary's *Das Schloss in Süden* (The Castle in the South), Gerhard Lamprecht's *Ein Gewisser Herr Gran* (A Certain Mr. Gran), and Ludwig Berger's (see cat. 23) *Walzerkrieg* (Battle of the Waltzes), among others. List of films courtesy of the Filmmuseum Potsdam.
5. The *Bergfilm* genre has often been linked (most famously by Siegfried Kracauer in his 1947 *From Caligari to Hitler: A Psychological History of the German Film*) to the "blood-and-soil" productions of the Third Reich. Eric Rentschler offered a convincing account of the genre's contemporaneity and its wide acclaim on both sides of the political spectrum. Rentschler, "Mountains and Modernity: Relocating the Bergfilm," *New German Critique* 51 (Fall 1990), pp. 137–61.
6. Ibid., pp. 148–49.
7. According to Rentschler, Fanck "drew heavily on the iconography of romantic painters, evoking the impetus of painters like Caspar David Friedrich, Philipp Otto Runge, and Joseph Anton Koch to imbue landscapes with transcendent or mystical powers." Ibid., p. 147.
8. The instrument resembles a still twin-lens reflex or a box film camera, both of which were available in Germany in the 1920s. Models—Debrie (Parvo L), Askania (Z), and Ernemann (Mod. E), for example—were box-shaped and lacked the large "film ears" that accommodated movie reels. I would like to thank Jason Gray and colleagues at the Filmmuseum Potsdam and the Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin, for their assistance in identifying these models. In 1933 the Babelsberg studio would have been using 35-millimeter cameras on film sets. E-mail from Ralf Forster, Filmmuseum Potsdam, to author, Dec. 8, 2010.
9. A 16-millimeter copy of the films (dated 1930–32) is housed at the Deutsche Kinemathek, Berlin.
10. This is confirmed by an X-ray. Beckmann also painted over a second figure in the scene of the runner, perhaps to obscure its original subject as that of a race. The shadow also recalls the rounded head and brimmed hat of Peter Lorre in the iconic 1931 film *M*.
11. Olaf Peters suggested that the present painting inspired Beckmann to undertake triptychs. Peters 2005, pp. 191–98. Christian Lenz dismissed the "constitutive importance" Peters assigned to this work. Lenz 2007–8, p. 96.
12. An undated list in Quappi Beckmann's handwriting details the paintings in Beckmann's studio. Due to the inclusion of canvases the artist completed just prior to his death, the list was likely made thereafter. [MQB], "Paintings in the Studio," Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.7(1), Archives, MoMA.
13. Invoice, Catherine Viviano Gallery, May 21, 1957, May Archives, SLAM.

Cat. 17
Still Life on Brown and Yellow (Champagne Bottles and Orchids), 1934, 1937

Oil on canvas; 26 x 43½ in. (66 x 110.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 849:1983
Signed and dated, l.c.: *Beckmann / B 34*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Sektflaschen und Orchideen* (Champagne Bottles and Orchids), *Still Life*, *Still Life with Orchids and Champagne Bottles* (*Stilleben mit Orchideen und Champagnerflaschen*), *Stilleben auf Braun und Gelb* (Still Life on Brown and Yellow), *Stilleben mit Sektflaschen* (Still Life with Champagne Bottles), *Stilleben mit Sektflaschen und Orchideen auf Braun und Gelb* (*Still Life with Champagne Bottles and Orchids on Brown and Yellow*)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On tacking edge, c.l., half-circle blue stamp: [illegible]
On stretcher, c.l., in black crayon: *#5 S 60* [or possibly "5560"]
On backing board, c.l., on browned label, printed: *INV. #* [typed:] *1939 /* [printed:] *ARTIST:* [typed:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *TITLE:* [typed:] *Orchids & Champagne Bottles /* [printed:] *FRANK PERLS GALLERY / BEVERLY HILLS, CALIFORNIA*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. In 1957 mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. Tacking edges were infused with wax resin for attachment to stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application of black paint thin and lean for matte appearance. Minimal brush texture. Some strokes of thicker, glossy black paint. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1957 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann; sold (likely Curt Valentin Gallery,

New York), by Nov. 1954, to Sam and Mildred Jaffe, Beverly Hills, Calif.; sold, Nov. 26, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1937—Berlin: Stilleben auf braun und gelb (Sektflaschen und Orchideen)* [added by MQB:] *Jaffés* [*sic*] *Hollywood*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 371, p. 75. Göpel 1976, no. 408, vol. 1, pp. 273, 525, 547, 554; vol. 2, p. 136 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Westheider 1995, pp. 90–91, n.pag., color pl. 5.

EXHIBITIONS: Bern 1938, cat. 17, p. 4. Winterthur 1938, cat. 19, p. 19. Amsterdam 1945 (no cat.).[9] Los Angeles 1954, p. 4. St. Louis 1960, cat. 60, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 68, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 66, n.pag. Nashville et al. 1966, cat. 16, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 21, p. 7. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 12, pp. 8, 40 (ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 12, pp. 8, 40 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 12, pp. 8, 40 (ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 12, pp. 8, 40 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 12, pp. 8, 40 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 17, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 25, pp. 12, 61 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 27, pp. 116, 117 (color ill.), 231. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 31, pp. 45 (color ill.), 231.

NOTES

1. The Beckmanns moved to Graf-Spee-Strasse 3 in June 1933. Billeter et al. 2008, p. 240.

2. Spieler 1998, p. 62.

3. Barbara Buenger suggested to the author that, in light of the fact that Beckmann's renderings of actual paintings within paintings were often inaccurate, the image seen here might be an inexact recall of his *View from a Porthole* (1934; Göpel 409).

4. Benno Reifenberg, *Die Piperdrucke, Katalog mit 165 Abbildungen, Texte von Benno Reifenberg* (Munich: Piper, 1956), p. 126. I would like to thank Barbara Buenger for drawing my attention to Reifenberg's description. See also Göpel 1976, no. 428, vol. 1, pp. 283–84.

5. A previous title (or work) has been crossed out on the same line in the picture list.

6. An undated list in Quappi Beckmann's handwriting details the paintings in Beckmann's studio, including *Still Life with Orchids and Champagne Bottles*. The list of canvases completed just prior to the artist's death suggests that the list was drawn up thereafter and thus that the painting was sold after 1950. [MQB], "Paintings in the Studio," Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.7(1), Archives, MoMA. Although Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 273, cited Catherine Viviano Gallery as handling the sale, the painting was in the Jaffes' collection by Nov. 1954 and still could have been sold through the Curt Valentin Gallery (although Valentin died that August) via the Frank Perls Gallery. Los Angeles 1954. Myrna Oliver, "Sam Jaffe: Pioneer Movie Producer, Manager, Agent," *Los Angeles Times*, Jan. 14, 2000. Jaffe, who represented film icons such as Humphrey Bogart and Lauren Bacall, is not to be confused with the actor of the same name.

7. [MQB] (note 6). According to Erhard and Barbara Göpel, Jaffe purchased *Still Life with Dressing Table* (Göpel 561) from the Curt Valentin Gallery around 1953. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 346. Like SLAM's still life, this work was also included in the 1954 exhibition mentioned in note 6, so perhaps the Jaffes purchased both works around the same time.

8. Correspondence between MDM and Sam Jaffe, Aug.–Nov. 1956, May Archives, SLAM. While in Beverly Hills, May renewed his acquaintance with the actor Vincent Price, a childhood friend and noted art collector in his own right (see Intro.). Price knew Jaffe well, as the two had cofounded, with several others, the short-lived Modern Institute of Art in Beverly Hills in the late 1940s.

9. According to his diary, Beckmann saw a "Champagne Still Life" (*Sekt-Stilleben*) in an exhibition in 1945 at the Stedelijk Museum, Amsterdam. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Sept. 20, 1945, p. 123. Erhard and Barbara Göpel assumed that this was SLAM's still life, but no evidence could be found to confirm this. Göpel 1976, no. 408, vol. 1, p. 273. An exhibition list based on the artist's diary entries made by Helmut Lutjens is in the MB Archive, Munich. Beatrice von Bormann addressed this exhibition briefly, but did not specify how the two Beckmann paintings came to be included. See Bormann 2007–8, pp. 119–20.

Cat. 18
The King, 1933, 1937

Oil on canvas; 53⅛ x 39⅜ in. (135 x 100 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 850:1983
Signed and dated, u.l.: *Beckmann / A 37*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On stretcher, u.l. in blue crayon: *44*[illegible]; u.l., in graphite: *6 10 / 1* [with zig-zag line between numbers]; u.l., in graphite: [illegible, covered by bracket] *1¾*; u.l., on white label, printed: *No.* [printed in red:] *65558 /* [printed in black:] *PICTURE*; u.l., on torn brown label, typed: *24—THE KING—Bec*[. . .]; u.l., on masking-tape remnant, in graphite: *2–B* [illegible]; u.l., on white label, typed: *#1736 / Max Beckmann / The King, 1937 / Curt Valentin / Buchholz Gallery / 32 East 57 St., NYC*; u.c., on torn beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GAL*[LERY] / *CURT VALEN*[TIN] / *32 EAST 57TH STREET NEW YORK / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *The King* / [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann* / [printed:] *MEDIUM* [typed:] *Oil, 1937* / [printed:] *FOTO* [illegible]; u.c., on white tape with blue border, in ink: *E7351.1*; u.c., in red crayon: [illegible, covered by label] *KÖNIG*; u.c., on torn white label, printed: [. . .] *ces l'une au châssis* [. . .]; u.c., in graphite: *22 / 57 / 79*; u.r., in graphite: *64.3913*[illegible]; u.r., on torn white label, printed: [. . .][DEPA]*RTMENT OF FINE ARTS* [. . .] *INTERNATIONAL EXPOSITION* / [. . .]*ing* / [. . .] [Be]*ckmann* / [illegible] *53 st. NYC*; u.r., on red label, printed: [Gu]*stav Knauer, B*[erlin] [black stamp:] *5341* / [printed:] *Kunst A*[b]*teilung*; u.r., on white label, typed: *The King / by / Max Beckmann* / [in graphite:] *8⅓*; c.l., in black crayon: *BxO*; c.c., in graphite: *83*; c.c., in black crayon: [illegible] *2X06*—H—*5*; c.c., in black crayon: *# / 3* [slash] */ S / 64*; c.c., in white chalk: *55 ¼–21*; c.r., in black crayon: *—H–5*; l.c., in black crayon: *BOX 4–5*; l.c., in red crayon: *(B5,P4)* [upside down]; l.c., in red crayon: *BOX 220 / P1* [over which there is a mark, in black crayon]; l.r., in blue crayon: *42* [encircled]; l.r., on white label, printed: *MINNEAPOLIS ART / INSTITUTE / No.* [typed:] *L49.66* / [printed:] *Lent by* [typed:] *Germanic / Museum—Harvard*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and lean for matte appearance. Some contour lines of glossy black paint. Visual evidence of artist's having scraped paint and reworked application. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Feb. 14, 1939, to Stephan Lackner, Santa Barbara, Calif.; sold (Buchholz Gallery, New York), July 5, 1950, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1933 (Berlin): Der König angef. Feb. F. beendet 24. Okt. Berlin überarbeitet in Amsterdam Morgenroth Lackner*; *"Emigré"—Amsterdam 1937 (Fortsetzung): 24) "Der König" Morgenroth (Amerika) Morton May*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 367, pp. 28, 75. Göpel 1976, no. 470, vol. 1, pp. vi, 303–4, 527, 542, 554, 582 (ill. [version 1]); vol. 2, pp. 11 (color ill.), 163 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Myers 1957 pp. 304, 390. Fischer 1972, no. 31, pp. 37, 93, 132, 160, 162. Gäßler 1974, p. 5. Lackner 1977, pp. [6], 31 (fig. 33 [version 1]), 132, [133] (pl. 31 [color]). Erpel 1985, cat. 152, pp. 59, 64, 67, 74, 225 (fig. 163 [color]), 344–45. Belting 1989, pp. 98 (fig. 39), 99 (fig. 40 [version 1]), 100. Selz 1992, pp. 65, [67] (color ill.), 68. Selz 1996, pp. 58, fig. 57 (color), 59–61. Spieler 1998, pp. 88 (fig. 12), 89–97. Emden 1999, pp. 39–40, fig. 40 (color). Homburg 2004, pp. 8, 9 (fig. 1 [color]), 11. Peters 2005, pp. 301–2, 303 (ill.). Bern 2006, pp. 108 (fig. 4 [color]), 110. Lloyd 2008, p. 55 (color ill.). Schneede 2009, p. 181 (color ill.). Norton/Roth 2010, pp. 333, 337, 338 (fig. 1), 339–41, 344, 346, 364. Potter 2012, pp. 274, 275 (fig. 49).

EXHIBITIONS: Pittsburgh 1934, cat. 289, n.pag., pl. 92 (version 1). San Francisco 1935, cat. 73, n.pag., ill. (version 1). Bern 1938, cat. 32, p. 4. London 1938, cat. 17, p. 10. Winterthur 1938, cat. 32, p. 20. New York 1940a, cat. 5, n.pag. San Francisco 1940, cat. 605, pp. 83, 89 (ill.). Chicago 1942, cat. 32, n.pag. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 25, frontis., pp. 37, 96 (ill.). Chicago 1951, cat. 24, n.pag. St. Louis 1954 (no cat.). Milwaukee 1954–55, cat. 3, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). Hanover, N.H. 1957 (no cat.).* St. Louis 1960, cat. 64, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 71, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 70, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 42, pp. 65, 67 (ill.), 151; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 41, n.pag., fig. 40; London 1965, cat. 43, pp. 28, 56 (pl. 16). Cleveland 1966, cat. 66, pp. [82] (ill.), 197. New York 1966, cat. 207, pp. 116 (ill.), 189. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 24, inside front cover (color), p. 8. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 66, p. 42; Munich 1968–69, cat. 64, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 66, p. 42. Bremen 1969b, cat. E6, n.pag.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 20, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 28, pp. 12–13, 64 (ill.). London et al. 1974–75, cat. 22, pp. 9, 23, 36 (ill.), 59. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 78, pp. 66, 149, 264 (ill. [version 1]), 265 (color ill.), 267, 270, 304, 461. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 18 (ill. [version 1]), 19 (color ill.), 34; Raleigh 1986, n.pag., ill. Atlanta 1989–90, cat. 55, pp. 160 (color ill.), 248. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 30, pp. 122 (ill. [version 1]), 123 (color ill.), 205, 231. New York 1996–97, cat. 4, pp. 65, [87] (color ill.). Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 36, pp. 59–60, 110 (color ill.), 231. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 281 (color ill.), 403; London/New York 2003, cat. 95, pp. 34, 174 (color ill.), 175, 250, 287. Munich et al. 2007–8, cat. 2, pp. 32 (fig. 1

[color det.]), 33, 77, 80 (fig. 37 [color]), 81–83, 103, n. 84, 140, 141 (color ill.).

NOTES

1. Fischer 1972, p. 133.
2. Like Persepolis, the site was excavated by German archeologists at the end of the nineteenth century. As Mika Natif noted in an e-mail to the author, Jan. 19, 2013, the figure's leg position, sword, and Achaemenid jewelry may also refer to ancient Iranian kings. I would like to thank Sid Goldstein and Mika Natif for this suggestion.
3. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 264; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 122.
4. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 264; Haxthausen 1985, p. 18; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 122; Spieler 1998, p. 254, n. 28.
5. This is confirmed by the loan paperwork, which lists the lender as "Max Beckmann, Berlin W. Graf Spee Str. 3." Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh. The address is also on a remnant of a white Carnegie Institute label on the stretcher. A label from an art-storage and transportation company, Gustav Knauer (see also cat. 19), suggests that the firm stored and/or transported the painting at some time during Beckmann's residence in Berlin.
6. For Carla Schulz-Hoffmann, the legs "open out defenselessly." St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 264. Charles Haxthausen saw the changes as possible reflection of the figure's "vulnerability, even in the exercise of his art." He continued, "He now appears directly exposed, defiant perhaps, but more vulnerable to any hostile force." Haxthausen 1985, p. 18. Karin von Maur considered the figure's regal power to be diminished by his costume. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 122. On the other hand, Reinhard Spieler detected in the artist/performer a seriousness and distinctive power, which he found as well in Beckmann's *Portrait of Zeretelli* (1927; Göpel 277), where the subject strikes the same pose. Spieler 1998, p. 90. The possible relationship between Beckmann's protagonist and ancient images of kings (see note 2) supports the interpretation of the pose as one of strength.
7. Beckmann used commercial oils but often altered their consistency. Heimberg 1984–85, p. 135.
8. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 264.
9. *Neues Winterthur Tageblatt*, Apr. 9. 1938, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A., Archives, MoMA.
10. See for example Haxthausen 1985, p. 18.
11. MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 302–7. A copy of the original address in German is in the library, MoMA.
12. For a flat fee, Lackner received two paintings per month; one out of every five was a large format. The arrangement was made on Sept. 3, 1938, and continued until May 8, 1940. Lackner 1969, p. 66. The German occupation of Holland ended all contact between Beckmann and Lackner until after the war. Ibid., p. 83. The catalogue for London 1938 mistakenly notes that the painting belonged to the Swiss painter Irmgard Burchard, "honorary organizer" of the exhibition. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 304; Lackner 1988, p. 65.
13. Lackner 1969, pp. 75, 85.
14. A list of paintings in Lackner's estate entitled "Ankauf" (purchase) and signed by Beckmann on the letterhead of the Hôtel Ritz, Place Vendôme, Paris, Feb. 14, 1939, includes "König" (King) as one of three "ältere Bilder" (older pictures). According to another Lackner estate document, *The King* was shipped on the *Champlain* from Paris to New York on Apr. 21, 1939 (arriving Apr. 28), along with a number of other paintings belonging to Lackner and Beckmann. "König" (King) is listed in a section noted as "Eigentum Lackner" (property of Lackner). Lackner, handwritten list, Stephan Lackner Estate, FMBA12, MB Archive, Munich.
15. In a letter to the artist, Curt Valentin noted that the painting was "owned by Stephan Lackner" at the time of the sale to May. CV to MB, Sept. 1, 1950, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.5, Archives, MoMA.

Cat. 19
Acrobats, 1937–39

Oil on canvas; left canvas: 78⅞ x 35¾ in. (200.3 x 90.8 cm); center canvas: 79 x 66⅛ in. (200.7 x 168 cm); right canvas: 78¾ x 35⅝ in. (200 x 90.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 851:1983a–c
Signed and dated, left canvas, l.c.: *Beckmann / A. 39*; center canvas, l.r.: *Beckmann / A. 39*; right canvas, l.c.: *Beckmann / A. 39*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *The Acrobats*, *Akrobaten (Triptychon)* (*Acrobats [Triptych]*), *Triptychon Akrobaten*, *Triptyque d'Acrobates* (both Triptych of Acrobats)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

Left canvas: On stretcher, u.l., on linen tape, in black ink: *E7762B*; u.l., in blue crayon: *BOX E*; u.l., in graphite: *74¼*; u.c., in black ink: *ACROBATEN RECHTER / Flügel*; u.c., in blue graphite: *IIa*; u.r., in graphite*: 64.385.3*; u.r., in blue graphite: *38a*; u.r., on masking tape, in blue graphite: *I / 3*; u.r., in black crayon: *#1 / 66 / B*; c.l., in blue graphite: *IIl*; c.l., in black crayon: *SE1749*; c.l. and c.r., circular blue customs stamps, overlapping canvas and stretcher: [illegible, possibly "Voerrechter Amsterdam"]; c.c., black stamp: *LEOPOLD H[ESS] / KUNSTMATERIALIEN / BERLIN W. GENTHINER ST*[RASSE 29] / *UMBENANNT IN WOYRSCH*[STRASSE]; c.c., in blue graphite: *II m*; c.r., in graphite: *Studly / #3*; c.r., in blue graphite: *IIr*; c.r., stamp: *200*; l.c., in blue graphite: *IIb*
Center canvas: On canvas, u.l., in red crayon: [illegible] *x* [illegible] [illegible]
On stretcher, u.l., on linen tape, in black ink: *E7762A*; u.l., in blue graphite: *Il*; u.l., in red graphite: *S.E. 1749*; u.c., in blue graphite: *Ia*; u.r., in graphite: *64.385.2*; u.r., in graphite: *38*; c.l., c.r., circular blue stamps, overlapping canvas and stretcher: [illegible, possibly "Voerrechter Amsterdam"]; c.l. and c.r., two identical black stamps: *ADRIAN BRUGGER / MUNCHEN* [both sideways]; c.r., in graphite: *Ir*; c.r., in graphite: *Studly / #1*; l.l. in white chalk: *BOX 1*; l.c., in blue graphite: *Ib*.; l.r., on yellowed label, printed: *Gustav Knauer, Berlin* / [black stamp:] *8875* / [printed:] *Kunst-Abteilung*
On horizontal stretcher crossbar, c.l., in blue graphite: *Box 2*; c.l., in blue graphite: *Im(l)*; c.c., printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALEN*[TIN] *32 EAST 57TH STREET NEW YORK / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *The Acrobats 1939* / [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann* [printed:] / *MEDIUM & SIZE* [typed:] *Oil, 78½ x 67 (middle pan*[el] / [printed:] *No.* [typed:] *6703* [printed:] *FOTO* [typed:] *B4*; c.l., in blue graphite: *Box 2*; c.l., in blue graphite: *Im(l)*; c.r., in blue graphite: *Im(r)*
On vertical stretcher crossbar, u.c., in black crayon: *1749* [sideways]; c.c., in blue ink: *Im(h)*; c.c., in black crayon: *#1 bb17*
Right canvas:
On canvas, l.r., black crayon: [long vertical mark]
On stretcher, u.l., on linen tape, in black ink: *E7762C*; u.l., in blue graphite: *IIIl*; u.l., in graphite: *74*; u.l., on masking tape, in graphite: *I/4*; u.c., in blue graphite: *IIIa*; u.r., in graphite: *64:3851*; u.r., in graphite: *38b*; u.r., in black crayon: *#166C*; c.l., in black crayon: *S.E. 1749*; c.l., in graphite: *STUDLY #2*; c.l., c.r., circular blue customs stamps, overlapping both canvas and stretcher: [illegible, possibly "Voerrechter Amsterdam"]; c.c., in blue graphite: *II m*; c.r., in blue graphite: *IIIr*; c.r., on paper taped on with masking tape, in graphite: *36¾*; c.r., in blue chalk: *BOX 2*; c.r., on brown plastic label-maker tape with raised white lettering: *THE ACROBATS TRIPTYCH BY BECKMANN*; l.c., in blue graphite: *IIIb*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original wood key stretchers. Original wood strip frames. In 1964 tear at upper left of center canvas was repaired at the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, with fabric patch using beeswax. In 1965 this repair was redone at MoMA using a Tosa tissue patch. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and lean for matte appearance. Brush texture throughout. Some contour lines of glossy black paint. Visual evidence of artist's having scraped paint and reworked application. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1983 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Mar. 1, 1946, to Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), New York; sold, 1946, to Wright S. Ludington, Santa Barbara, Calif.; sold, Dec. 4, 1955, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Amsterdam Sommer 1939: Akrobat? III Triptychon gänzlich umgearbeitet und beendet ungefähr am 25. August. Valentin New York now Lt. Wright Ludington, Santa Barbara*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 417, pp. 60, 76, fig. 63. Göpel 1976, no. 536, vol. 1, pp. 27, 334–35, 529, 544, 554; vol. 2, pp. 188–90 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Soby 1948, pp. 85, 87 (ill.), 91. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, pp. 38, 45 (erroneously mentions the Golden Gate prize). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1946: Feb. 28, Mar. 8, Dec. 2; pp. 143–44, 172. Myers 1957, pp. 306, 390. Lackner 1965, pp. 10, 11 (color ill.). Lackner 1969, p. 77. Kessler 1970, cat. 3, betw. pp. 36 and 37 (color ill.), pp. 37–42, 73, 99, 106. Fischer 1972, pp. 155, 158–61, fig. 48. Gäßler 1974, p. 7. Gandelman 1978, p. 478. Lackner 1983, pp. 54–55 (color ill.), 77, 95. Cologne 1984, p. 53. Erpel 1985, cat. 165/A, pp. 69, [238] (fig. 176) (center canvas only), 349. Spieler 1998, pp. 22–23 (ill.), 100–3. St. Louis *Handbook* 1991, pp. 198–99 (color ill.). Rome 1996, p. 52 (fig. 3). Leipzig 1998, p. 150 (ill.). Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 182. Paris et al. 2002–3, p. 381 (fig. 4). London/New York 2003, p. 188. Homburg 2004, pp. 11, 12–13 (fig. 5 [color]). Cologne 2005, p. 113. Peters 2005, pp. 198, n.pag., fig. 14 (color), 267–68 (fig. 135), 269–80. Bern 2006, pp. 45 (fig. 11 [color]), 64, 129. Kienle 2008, p. 43 (fig. 11 [color]). Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 116, 164 (fig. 104). Leipzig 2011–12, pp. 33, 34 (fig. 3 [color]), 49.

EXHIBITIONS: New York et al. 1946, cat. 1, n.pag., ill. Santa Barbara 1946 (no cat.).* San Francisco 1948 (no cat.). Santa Barbara et al. 1955, cat. 42, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). Boston 1957, cat. 5, p. 12, n.pag., fig. 105.

St. Louis 1960, cat. 66, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 74, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 72, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65 (not in New York), cat. 49, p. 151; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965 cat. 48, n.pag., fig. 47; London 1965, cat. 50, p. 28. Portland, Or. 1967, cat. 27, p. 8. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 74, p. 43; Munich 1968–69, cat. 72, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 74, p. 43. Bremen 1969b, cat. E8, n.pag., ill.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 23, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 31, pp. 13, 67 (ill.). St. Louis 1973–74 (no cat.). London et al. 1980–81, pp. 5, 16 (ill., color ill. [left canvas]), 17–18, 30 (ill.), 42, 43 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1981, pp. IX, XXII, 6–7 (ill. [left and center canvases]), [40] (color ill.), 41, 57, 74, 109 (ill. [right canvas]), 110 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 89, pp. 40, 43–44, 53, 66, 155, 276–77 (color ill.), 426, 462, 467 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 20–21 (color ill.), 22; Raleigh 1986, n.pag., ill. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 35, pp. 132, 133–34 (color ill.), 135, 205, 223, 232. New York 1996–97, cat. 8, pp. 17, 58–60, 61 (color ill. [right canvas]), 62 (color ill. [center canvas]), 65, 67–68, 71–72, 75, 77, [91] (color ill.), 113. Los Angeles et al. 1997–98 (Berlin only) (not in cat.). Munich et al. 2007–8, cat. 8, pp. 47 (fig. 10 [color]), 48–50, 99, n. 34, 154, 155 (color ill.), 156, [157] (color ill., det. [center canvas]).

RELATED WORK: Fig. 19/5

NOTES

1. The canvases do not represent a narrative progression. Nor, unlike *Departure* (fig. 24) for example, do they require a paratactic reading typical of altarpieces in which juxtapositions create new meaning.

2. Beckmann lived chiefly in Paris from October 1938 to June 1939. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, p. 186; Lenz 2007–8, p. 42.

3. Beckmann MQ 1985, p. 25. According to Quappi Beckmann, the artist attended the Cirque Médrano in early Nov. 1938. MQB to Hedda Schoonderbeek, Nov. 9, 1938, MB Archive, Munich, cited in English in Lenz 2007–8, p. 98, n. 32.

4. Spieler 1998, p. 265, n. 191; Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 154.

5. MB to Anthony Bosman, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Mar. 14, 1947, no. 801, p. 153. "Im Grunde handelt es sich immer um das Theater [*sic*] des Lebens und vieleicht [*sic*] um das, was dahinter ist." The two other triptychs to which Beckmann added the designation "Theater des Lebens" in parentheses are *Actors* (1941–42; Göpel 604) and *Carnival* (1943; Göpel 649). See also Lenz 2007–8, p. 48. Perhaps because of its clear mythological content, Beckmann omitted this grouping from *Perseus* (1940–41; Göpel 570), which he painted directly after *Acrobats*.

6. Olaf Peters considered *Acrobats* to be a paradigmatic work of Beckmann's early exile years that has been neglected in the scholarship on the triptychs. Peters 2005, p. 268. Peters criticized earlier scholars (e.g. Fischer 1972) for providing oversimplified iconographic readings of the triptychs that disregard the period in which they were produced. Ibid., pp. 279–80.

7. MB to CV, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Mar. 1, 1946, no. 765, p. 116. In a letter from mid-September, the artist described the triptych as "almost finished" (*fast fertig*). MB to Lilly von Schnitzler, ibid., Sept. 19, 1939, no. 707, p. 62. One month later, he considered it completed and was working on his next triptych, *Perseus* (see note 5). MB to CV, ibid., Oct. 21, 1939, no. 709, p. 64.

8. MB to CV, Mar. 1, 1946 (note 7).

9. Ibid. Numerous scholars have identified the figure as Mars. See for example Kessler 1970, p. 39; Karin von Maur in Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 132; Peters 2005, p. 275. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann described the figure as a performer dressed as Mars. Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 154.

10. Spieler 1998, pp. 100–3. The liveried figure or bellboy rarely appears in Beckmann's paintings in other formats.

11. Ibid., p. 103.

12. MQB to Hedda Schoonderbeek (note 3). "Am Freitag waren wir im Cirque Medrano, es war zu schön!! Wunderbare ganz phantastische Sachen haben wir gesehen, wie noch nie! Und zwei glänzende komische Clowns, haben uns großartig unterhalten."

13. Reinhard Spieler did not address the size of the canvases that constitute *Acrobats* and erroneously illustrated the sides as larger than the center section. Spieler 1998, pp. 22–23.

14. Beckmann may not have been familiar with Picasso's *Acrobats with a Dog*, but he would have known other similar works by the Spanish artist.

15. Morton D. May briefly owned the terracotta *Adam and Eve*. MDM to Erhard Göpel, Dec. 9, 1957, Erhard Göpel† and Barbara Göpel, Munich. Christian Lenz argued that the young man in the center canvas and the performing acrobat in the left canvas represent the artist. Lenz 2007–8, p. 48. Quappi Beckmann denied that her husband intended the figures to resemble actual people or himself. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 335. Fritz Erpel did not consider the young man in the center section a self-portrait. Erpel 1985, p. [238].

16. Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer interpreted the grouping as inspired by the epic Indian poem *The Ramayana*. Fischer 1972, p. 159. While acknowledging the significance of Fischer's exploration of Far Eastern influences on Beckmann, Lenz dismissed his reading as too narrow. Christian Lenz 2007–8, p. 99, n. 34. See also Peters 2005, pp. 279–80.

17. MQB to Hedda Schoonderbeek, Feb. 13, 1952, MB Archive, Munich. Scholars have identified Beckmann's lanky performer as a boy, a woman, an androgynous figure, and even a hermaphrodite. For the latter, see Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 154.

18. Spieler 1998, p. 99.

19. For Peters, Beckmann's drummer had political connotations, given the moment the painting was executed. He even suggested that the figure's face and stringy hair refer to Adolf Hitler. Peters 2005, pp. 272–73.

20. Spieler noted that such formal analogies, in mirrored compositions, can be found in every triptych. Spieler 1998, p. 54.

21. Peters 2005, p. 270.

22. MB to J. B. Neumann, Dec. 2, 1937, in Harter/Wiese 2011, no. 107, p. 239. Citing this letter, which does not mention any other dates, Peters claimed that work began in Nov./Dec. 1937. Peters 2005, p. 267, n. 163. If Beckmann began the triptych in Berlin, however, the start date could have been even earlier than Peters suggested.

23. MB to CV, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Feb. 11, 1938, no. 675, p. 29. Based on this letter, Lenz concluded that Beckmann began *Acrobats* in 1938, but also suggested that he may actually have started it in 1937. Lenz 2007–8, pp. 46, 98, n. 29.

24. A label on the stretcher of the center canvas reads, "Gustav Knauer, Berlin / 8875 / Kunst-Abteilung." Knauer ran an important Berlin art-storage and shipping firm. According to the Office of Reparations (Wiedergutmachungsamt) in Berlin, Knauer's business records were destroyed in 1944 bombings. SLAM Archives. The Hess stamp, on the stretcher of the left canvas, reads, "Leopold H[ess] / Kunstmaterialien / Berlin W. Genthiner St[rasse 29] / umbenannt in Woyrsch[strasse]." Leopold Hess was Beckmann's art-materials supplier in Berlin. See Billeter et al. 2008, pp. 355–56. The stamp indicates a change of street name from Genthiner Strasse to Woyrschstrasse, which dates the purchase of the stretcher to after 1935, when the National Socialists renamed the street.
An invoice from Adrian Brugger, dated Mar. 29, 1934, documents an order for stretched canvases the size of *Temptation* (1936–37; Göpel 439) and *Acrobats* (170 x 200 cm). On the back of the bill, Beckmann made a sketch (National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C.). See Billeter 2008, p. 254, n. 10. Like *Temptation*, *Acrobats* also bears two Brugger stamps on the stretcher of the center canvas.

25. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, May 22, 1939, no. 696, p. 50; MB to CV, Oct. 21, 1939 (note 7).

26. See Leipzig 1998, pp. 150–51.

27. This suggests that Beckmann may have turned the canvas upside down and continued to work on it, or that the painting diverged from the sketch in including a figure more akin to that of Andromeda in his next triptych, *Perseus*. As Spieler pointed out, the Andromeda figure bears a strong resemblance to the blond female in the center of *Acrobats*. Spieler 1998, p. 142.

28. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, July 7, 1939, no. 703, p. 58. "Bin in äußerster ARBEIT. –LE nouveau Trois steigt aus dunklen Gewässern über Sekt, Cadaver und den kleinen Wahnsinn der Welt empor zur äußersten Klarheit.—O mon dieu, es lohnt zu leben." English in Munich et al. 2007–8, pp. 154, 156. In May Beckmann wrote to Valentin that the painting was "up to two-thirds complete" (*zu 2/3 fertig*). MB to CV, MB, ibid., May 1, 1939, no. 695, p. 48.

29. As soon as contact between Beckmann and Valentin resumed, in 1945, the dealer asked for paintings.
The artist received an export license in Jan. 1946. Bormann 2007–8, p. 117. In a letter to Valentin, Beckmann referred to "sixteen or eighteen" paintings, including *Acrobats*, which were awaiting shipment at the transportation firm Neumann & Vettin. MB to CV, *Briefe* 3 1996, Dec. 25, 1945, no. 758, p. 106. For a list of the paintings, see MB to CV, MB, ibid., Jan. 14, 1946, no. 760, p. 109.

30. In his diary, Beckmann noted that Valentin wanted to buy eight paintings, including the triptych and *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Feb. 28, 1946, p. 143. In a letter to the artist regarding the purchase of the works, Valentin wrote, "I personally think that the triptych is one of your most important paintings." CV to MB, Feb. 28, 1946, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.3, Archives, MoMA. According to a statement in the Valentin Papers, the sale transpired on Mar. 1, 1946. "Mr Max Beckmann. Statement," June 2, 1948, Valentin Papers, III.A.6, Archives, MoMA.
The artist's income list from 1946 cites the sale of the eight paintings to Valentin for a total of "16,000" [U.S. dollars]. MB, income list (Notebook 2, MB Estate, Berlin). Another list notes the sale of *Acrobats* for "5000 Do[llars] Acrobats for 3 paintings" ("5000 Do[llars] Akrobaten je 3 Bilder"). MB, Sketchbook 50, 36v, National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., illustrated in Zeiller 2010, vol. 2, p. 882.

31. New York et al. 1946. A timeline in St. Louis et al. 1948–49, p. 45, states that *Acrobats* won first prize at the 1939 Golden Gate International Exhibition, when in fact the award went to the artist's second triptych,

Temptation (see note 24). See also Françoise Forster-Hahn, "Imagining the American West," in Washton Long/Makela 2009, p. 308.
32. "German Seeker," *Time* 47 (May 6, 1946), p. 64.
33. At the beginning of April, Valentin informed Beckmann that he had sold *Acrobats*. CV to MB, Apr. 1, 1946, Curt Valentin Papers, III. A.3, Archives, MoMA. The catalogue (New York et al. 1946) lists Ludington as the painting's owner.
34. In addition to helping found the Santa Barbara Museum of Art in 1941, eventually becoming its single most important donor, Ludington was also a member of the board of trustees of the short-lived Modern Institute of Art in Beverly Hills, Calif. For more on Ludington and his collection, see *Wright S. Ludington. Four Decades of Gifts to the Santa Barbara Museum of Art* (Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1982). See also *San Francisco Museum of Art Magazine of Art* (Apr. 1948), copy, MB Archive, Munich.
35. MDM to PB, Jan. 5, 1956. SLAM Archives. May informed Peter Beckmann about his purchase and stated that the painting would soon hang at the St. Louis museum. See St. Louis 1956.

Cat. 20
Acrobat on the Trapeze, 1940

Oil on canvas; 57⅜ x 35⅞ in. (145.7 x 91.1 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 852:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / A 40*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Acrobat on his Swing, Acrobat on the Swing, Akrobat am Trapez (Acrobat on a Trapeze), Akrobat auf Trapez (Acrobat on Trapeze), Akrobat auf Trapez (Selbstbildnis), Akrobaat op Trapeze (Zelfpotret)* both Acrobat on Trapeze [Self-Portrait])

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On canvas overlap, u.l., circular purple stamp: [illegible]; u.r., in graphite: *24¾* [canvas overlap] *9*
On stretcher, u.l., in graphite: *Kat. Nr. 121*; u.l., on torn browned label with blue border, in ink: *Mr: Bec*[. . .] / *I Schil*[illegible]; u.l., circular purple stamp: *Zoll* / [. . .]; u.c., in black crayon: *BX 12–1*; u.c., in white chalk: [possibly "9"]*2402–1* [written over another, lighter inscription in white chalk:] [illegible] *592* [illegible] *EXP*; u.c., in black ink: *Mann auf den Trapez*; u.r., in graphite: *from F. Zimmermann 32 I* [illegible] *32* [canvas overlap] *W55*; u.r., in black crayon: *31*; u.r., in graphite: *64.384*; u.r., in black crayon: *Bx00–3*; c.l., in black crayon: *Box #8*; c.l., in black crayon: *315.12:47*; c.c., in black crayon: *2400—D–4*; c.r., in red crayon: *(B4 P)*; c.r., in blue crayon: *25* [encircled]; in blue-black crayon: *J.K.4. 97* ["97" encircled] [upside down]; c.r., in white chalk: *BOX* [illegible, possibly "4" encircled] [upside down]; l.l., on yellowed label, printed: *MINNEAPOLIS ART / INSTITUTE / No.* [typed:] *L49.44* / [printed:] *Lent by* [typed:] *Germanic / Museum—Harvard*; l.c., in ink: [arrow pointed up] / *bot*
On backing board, u.l., in graphite: *c / 34½* [encircled] *12¾* [arrow pointed down] *41* [arrow pointed right]
In department file, on brown label, printed: *94 AKROBAT AUF TRAPEZ (SELBSTBILDNIS)* / [typed:] *Slg. Frederic A. P. Zimmermann, New York* [in red ink:] *83*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and lean for matte appearance. Brush texture throughout. Some contour lines of glossy black paint. Visual evidence of artist having scraped paint and reworked application. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1957 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. Before 1985 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1990 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold (Buchholz Gallery [Curt Valentin], New York), Dec. 1946, to Frederick A. P. Zimmermann, New York; sold, July 8, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Amsterdam 1940 im Krieg u. Offensive: Akrobat auf d. Schaukel angef. 10. August, beendet 18. Nov. Frederic Zimmermann New York—durch Valentin*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg 1949, no. 440, p. 76. Göpel 1976, no. 547, vol. 1, pp. 339–40, 530, 547, 554; vol. 2, p. 194 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1940: Nov. 10, 18, p. 13. MB, *Sichtbares und Unsichtbares* 1965, pp. 10, 74, [75] (pl. 27 [color]). Fischer 1972, p. 41, n. 110. Frankfurt 1981, p. XXIII (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 221, 463. Erpel 1985, cat. 165/B, pp. [239] (fig. 177 [color]), 350. Selz 1992, pp. 73, [74] (color ill.), 75. Westheider 1995, p. 166, n.pag., fig. 59. Selz 1996, pp. 66 (fig. 64 [color]), 68. Spieler 1998, pp. 186 (fig. 56), 187. St. Louis *Handbook* 2004, p. 274 (color ill.). Bern 2006, pp. 40 (fig. 7 [color]), 45. Kienle 2008, p. 83 (fig. 29 [color]). Lloyd 2008, p. [16] (color ill.). Leipzig 2011–12, p. 334.

EXHIBITIONS: Buffalo 1947, cat. 1, n.pag., ill. Philadelphia 1947, cover, cat. 6, n.pag. St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 28, pp. 65 (ill.), 96. Munich et al. 1951, cat. 121, pp. [40] (fig. 23), 52. Amsterdam 1951–52, cat. 48, p. 27, n.pag., ill. Zurich 1955–56, cat. 94, p. 32. Basel 1956, cat. 83, p. 31. The Hague 1956, cat. 71, n.pag., ill. Kansas City, Mo. 1957, cat. 17, p. [12]. St. Louis 1960, cat. 67, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 75, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 73, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 50, pp. [74] (color ill.), 75, 151; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 49, n.pag., fig. 49 (color); London 1965, cat. 51, pp. 28, 59 (pl. 19). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 28, p. 8. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 16, pp. 9, 44 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 16, pp. 9, 44 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 16, pp. 9, 44 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 16, pp. 9, 44 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, pp. 9, 44 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 24, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 32, pp. 13–14, 68 (color ill.). Milwaukee et al. 1981–82, cat. 13, pp. 48 (color ill.), 50, 90. Fort Lauderdale 1983, cat. 23, n.pag, color ill. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 22, 23 (ill.). Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 65, pp. 176, 177 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 36, pp. 136, 137 (color ill.), 232. New York 1996–97, cat. 9, p. [92] (color ill.). Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 41, pp. 56 (color ill.), 231. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 300 (color ill.), 403; London/New York 2003, cat. 100, pp. 34, 184 (color ill.), 287. Munich et al. 2007–8, cat. 10, cover (color), pp. 48, 160, 161 (color ill.).

NOTES

1. In his picture list, Beckmann recorded that he started the painting on Aug. 10, 1940, and completed it on Nov. 18. According to his diary, he worked on a "green trapeze artist" (*Grüner Luftakrobat*) during a series of bombing raids. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 10, 1940, p. 13. Based solely on the artist's diary, Marco Pesarese erroneously claimed that it took Beckmann only one week, in November, to execute the work. Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 160.
2. Beckmann MQ 1985, p. 17. "Er war besonders von den bunt kostümierten Zirkusleuten beeindruckt. Die Geschicklichkeit mit der sie bei den schwierigsten Nummern Balance hielten, machte die Akrobaten für ihn zu einer Art von höheren sich im Raum bewegenden Wesen."
3. Haxthausen 1985, p. 23.
4. Ibid., p. 22; Selz 1992, p. 75; Lenz 2007–8, p. 48. For Quappi Beckmann's denial that the painting portrays the artist, see Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 340; Selz 1992, p. 103, n. 18. Fritz Erpel also did not consider the work a self-portrait. Erpel 1985, p. [239].
5. MB, "Letters to a Woman Painter," in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 317. Beckmann also cast himself as a tightrope walker in a ten-point declaration he wrote for Karl Anton von Rohan, which he titled "The Social Stance of the Artist by the Black Tightrope Walker." See intro. to Chap. 3 and intro., note 16.
6. For the complete text of "Letters to a Woman Painter," see MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 313–17.
7. Spieler 1998, p. 187.
8. Zimmermann 1967, pp. 3–4. In its third volume, which appeared in 1928, *Der Querschnitt* illustrated, among other paintings, Beckmann's *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* (fig. 21).
9. Zimmermann 1967, p. 5. Zimmermann called the painting *Women in Dutch Costume*, as did Valentin.
10. Handwritten invoice, Frederick Zimmermann to MDM, July 8, 1956. May Archives, SLAM.
11. Frederick Zimmermann to MDM, c. June 1956 (before June 21, 1956, when MDM responded), May Archives, SLAM.

Cat. 21
Young Men by the Sea, 1943

Oil on canvas; 75⅜ x 39½ in. (191.5 x 100.3 cm)
Museum Purchase, 106:1946
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann A. 43*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Four Men by the Sea, Junge Männer an der See* (Young Men at the Sea), *Young Men at the Coast* (*Junge Männer an der Küste*)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On frame, u.l., in blue pencil: [illegible, possibly "LA.1." or "JA.1.," with "A.1." underlined twice] *(88) Z*; u.c., u.r., in white chalk: [illegible]; c.l., in graphite: *BOX 2 = X1R4*; c.l., in graphite: *44*; c.r., in graphite: *Buchholz / Buchholz*; c.r., in graphite: *X*; l.c., in black crayon: *2400–D–4*
In department files, on label, printed: *MINNEAPOLIS ART / INSTITUTE / No.* [typed:] *L49.46* / [printed:] *Lent by* [typed:] *Germanic / Museum—Harvard*; on label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 EAST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *Young Men at the Coast* / [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann 1943* / [printed:] *MEDIUM & SIZE* [typed:] *oil—75 x 39½* [printed:] *NO.* [typed:] *6707* [printed:] *FOTO* [typed]: *R7*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. In 1966 mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. Original oak frame with whitewash finish. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paste vehicular consistency. Moderate thickness. Brush texture

throughout. Applied wet-into-wet. Contour lines are matte black. Thin, transparent strokes of glossy black paint over opaque colors. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1966 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1990 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Mar. 1, 1946, to Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), New York; sold, Mar. 13, 1946, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Amsterdam 1942: 12 Dez. Junge Männer am Meer.* [illegible] *City A. Museum* St. Louis *Valentin New York*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 517, p. 78. Göpel 1976, no. 629, vol. 1, pp. 379, 532, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 226 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Soby 1948, p. 86. New York 1951a, n.pag. St. Louis *Handbook* 1953, p. [191] (ill.). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1942: Dec. 11, 18; 1943: Jan. 9, 11, 23, 27, Feb. 8, 10, 28; 1946: Feb. 28; 1947: June 23, Sept. 22; pp. 44, [46], 47–48, 143, 195, 211. Göpel 1957b, p. 5, n.pag., fig. 11. Kessler 1970, pp. 65, 89–91, [135] (fig. 25). Fischer 1972, p. 222. Gäßler 1974, p. 6. St. Louis *Handbook* 1975, p. 198 (ill.). Lackner 1977, pp. 10, [11] (fig. 6). Cologne 1984, pp. 34, 35 (fig. 29), 196 (fig. 4). Haxthausen 1985, p. 1. Selz 1996, pp. 94, 102, 103 (fig. 91). New York 1996–97, p. 59. St. Louis *Handbook* 2004, p. 275 (color ill.). Homburg 2004, p. 10 (fig. 3 [color]), 11. Bern 2006, pp. 64. Munich et al. 2007–8, pp. 77, 85. Kienle 2008, p. 57 (fig. 13 [color]).

EXHIBITIONS: New York et al. 1946, cat. 3, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1947, p. 63 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 31, pp. 37, 67 (ill.), 96. St. Louis 1949 (no cat.). St. Louis 1950 (no cat.). Munich et al. 1951, cat. 148, pp. [41] (fig. 24), 53 (Berlin only). Amsterdam 1951–52, cat. 59, p. 27. St. Louis 1955a, cat. 6, p. 9. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). Albuquerque 1964, cat. 9, pp. 7, 22 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 100, pp. 67, 288 (color ill.), 306, 464. Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 77, pp. 200, 201 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 40, pp. 147–48, 149 (color ill.), 232. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 45, pp. 31 (color ill.), 231. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 332–33, 335 (color ill.), 403 (Paris only).

NOTES

1. Göpel 1976, no. 629, vol. 1, p. 379. See also fig. 21/2.
2. The painting was acquired in 1906 by the Großherzoglichen Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe, Weimar.
3. MB to Perry Rathbone, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, May 8, 1946, no. 772, p. 123. A translation of Beckmann's letter is in the SLAM Archives.
4. Hans Belting, "Statt eines Vorworts," in Spieler 1998, p. 13.
5. Göpel 1957b, p. 5. See also Kessler 1970, p. 90; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 147; Belting (note 4).
6. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 147. Göpel 1957b, p. 6, implied this as well. In his picture list, the artist noted that he completed work on the painting on Dec. 12, 1942, but in his diary entry for Feb. 10, 1943, he said it was "finished" (*fertig*) and then on Feb. 28 declared it "finally finished" (*endgültig fertig*). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, pp. 47–48.
7. Göpel 1957b, p. 6; Kessler 1970, p. 90.
8. The painting traveled to New York with *Acrobats* (cat. 19) and *Portrait of Ludwig Berger* (cat. 23) for exhibition at the Buchholz Gallery (New York et al. 1946). MB to CV, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Jan. 14, 1946, no. 760, p. 109. According to a 1948 statement, the sale of what the dealer referred to as *Men on Beach* occurred on Mar. 1, 1946. "Mr. Max Beckmann, Statement," June 2, 1948, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.6, Archives, MoMA.
9. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, July 4, 1947, p. 196. According to Quappi Beckmann, during that visit the decision was made to organize a Beckmann retrospective at the City Art Museum. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 47. See also Intro.
10. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 45.
11. For the complete text, see ibid., pp. 45–47; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 148.

Cat. 22
Small Stormy Sea, 1944

Oil on canvas; 17 11/16 x 33 5/8 in. (44.9 x 85.4 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 853:1983
Signed and dated, l.l.: *Beckmann / A 44*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Stormy Sea* (*Stürmische See*), *Stormy Weather*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On stretcher, u.c., in black crayon: *#9 S70*; u.c., in blue ink: *33½* [upside down]; l.c., in black ink: *33½*
On backing board, u.l., on circular white sticker, in black ink: *E / 1010.2*; c.l, in black ink: *NOS 19.358*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1959 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application moderately thick. Moderate brush texture and impasto. Variable matte colors and glossy black paint. Canvas texture visible. Minimal cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1959 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold (Buchholz Gallery [Curt Valentin], New York), July 5, 1950, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1945 (im Krieg): 3) kleines stürmisches Meer Valentin*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 569, p. 80. Göpel 1976, no. 688, vol. 1, pp. 412, 534, 546, 554; vol. 2, p. 250 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Homburg 2004, cover (color), p. 12.

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago 1951, cat. 25, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 70, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 78, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 76, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 31, p. 8. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 35, pp. 14, 71 (ill.). London et al. 1974–75, cat. 30, pp. 10, 51 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1986–87 (not in cat.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 43, pp. 52, 154, 155 (color ill.), 232. Hamburg et al. 1998–99, cat. 73, pp. 129, 140 (color ill.), 183.

NOTES

1. MB, "On My Painting" (1938), in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 303.
2. Ibid., p. 58.
3. Stehlé-Akhtar 2003–4, p. 126. Beckmann's last trip to the Riviera before the war was in 1939, when he went to Bandol with his close friend and supporter Stephan Lackner.
4. On the sources for Beckmann's French and Italian landscapes, see Peter 1998–99. See also Stehlé-Akhtar 2003–4, pp. 130–32.
5. Photographs in the MB Estate, Berlin, however, show similar rocky shores and sprays of the waves against them. I would like to thank Nina Peter for her assistance in evaluating the photos.
6. See for example *Bathing Scene near Bandol* (1938; Göpel 503), *Cap Martin* (1939; Göpel 527), and *Café Bandol* (1944; Göpel 682).
7. See for example Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 154.
8. Referred to as *Stormy Weather*, the canvas was sent to Beckmann, care of the City Art Museum, St. Louis. CV to MB, Oct. 22, 1947, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.4.10, Archives, MoMA. Valentin wrote to the artist that the painting was sold to Morton D. May. CV to MB, Sept. 1, 1950, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.5, Archives, MoMA. Beckmann's picture list includes a section called "Kommissionsliste meine [*sic*] Bilder bei Valentin" (Commission list [of] my pictures with Valentin), which mentions that the painting Valentin called *Stormy Weather* was sold to May.
9. CV (Buchholz Gallery) to MDM, July 5, 1950, May Archives, SLAM. Valentin also listed the title *Stormy Weather* on the invoice. That same day, May also purchased paintings by German expressionists Otto Mueller, Ernst Ludwig Kirchner, and Karl Schmidt-Rottluff, and by the French artist Fernand Léger. Today two of these are in SLAM's collection: a self-portrait by Mueller (917:1983) and a landscape by Schmidt-Rottluff (939:1983).

Cat. 23
Portrait of Ludwig Berger, 1945

Oil on canvas; 53 3/8 x 35 3/8 in. (135.6 x 89.9 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 854:1983
Signed and dated, u.l.: *Beckmann / A 45*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Bildnis Ludwig Berger* (*Portrait Ludwig Berger*), *Dr. Ludwig Berger*, *Ludwig Berger*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On stretcher, l.c., in black crayon: *#5571*
On frame, u.l., in graphite: *E78814*; u.r., on torn masking tape, in ink: [. . .]*2*; l.l., in graphite: *DR. L. BERGER*; l.l., in graphite: *gold*; l.l., in white chalk: *717*[?]; l.l., in graphite: *Lur*[. . .]*d* & *No*[. . .]*d*; l.c., in graphite: *Buchholz*; l.c., in white chalk: *4 161–5*; l.c., in graphite: [illegible, possibly "L his es ar"] *frame*
In department files, label with rounded corners, in ink: *Beckmann / "Ludwig Berger" / 1945*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. In 1958 original support was mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer perhaps applied by artist or assistant. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin, uniform, and smooth, with paste vehicular consistency. Brush texture throughout. Contour lines are matte black. Body and background colors are semiglossy. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. In 1984 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, New York; sold (Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York), June 5, 1956, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1945 (Friede ab 5. Mai): 20) Portrait Berger fertig am 9. Okt. (Valentin)* [in MQB's hand:] *commis* [?]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 703, vol. 1, pp. 420–21, 534, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 255 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1945: Sept. 3, 6, 12, 15, 22, 27, Oct. 2, 11, 14; pp. 121–25. Berlin 1969, no. 28, cover (det.), p. 13. Lackner 1983, pp. [73] (color ill.), 95. Göpel (1955) 1984, p. 125; St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 466. Homburg 2004, pp. 14, 15 (fig. 8 [color]). Munich et al. 2007–8, pp. 78 (fig. 36 [color]), 80, 103, n. 83, 129 (fig. 21 [color]), 130.

EXHIBITIONS: New York et al. 1946, cat. 15, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). New York et al. 1957, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1960, cat. 71, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 79, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 77, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 32, p. 8. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 19, pp. 9–10, 47 (ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 19, pp. 9, 47 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 19, pp. 9, 47 (ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 19, pp. 9–10, 47 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 19, pp. 9–10, 47 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 27, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 38, pp. 14–15, 74 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 45, pp. 158, 159 (color ill.), 232.

RELATED WORKS: Figs. 23/2–3. See also note 10

NOTES

1. See Bormann 2007–8, esp. pp. 121–31.
2. *Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch* (Hamburg: Genossenschaft Deutscher Bühnen–Angehörigen, 1970), p. 142. I would like to thank Sabine Fischer-Mahr for providing information relating to Berger's emigration date.
3. As Beckmann noted in his picture list, the war ended in the Netherlands on the evening of May 4, 1945. The relevant section of Beckmann's picture list notes "Peace" (*Friede*) as of May 5. Rudolf Heilbrunn, a Jewish businessman and collector, took Berger to visit Beckmann in June 1945. Bormann 2007–8, p. 130.
4. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 39; Lenz 2007–8, p. 80, n. 4.
5. Friedrich Luft, in "Stimme der Kritik," radio transcript RIAS (Rundfunk im amerikanischen Sektor), Jan. 8, 1967, copy, MB Estate, Berlin. "Ludwig Berger war und ist der Typ des empfindsamen Künstlers. Seine Welt ist die Welt des Märchens." Luft also contrasted Berger with the expressionist director Leopold Jessner, who had invited Berger to Berlin shortly after World War I. Willy Hass called Berger a "real romanticist" (*echten Romantiker*) like none other he had met. Hass, "Ludwig Berger 75," *Die Welt*, Jan. 6, 1967, copy, MB Archive, Munich.
6. Ludwig Berger, *Wir sind vom gleichen Stoff, aus dem die Träume sind: Summe eines Lebens* (Tübingen: Rainer Wunderlich, 1953), pp. 373–75. ". . . füllte er sie bis zum Rand mit Bedeutung. Moderne Mythen auf die Fläche gebannt." In early 1943, for fear that Beckmann's paintings might be confiscated, Erhard Göpel recommended they be stored at Paul Cassirer & Co., Amsterdam. Bormann 2010, pp. 76–77 (fig. 12). Berger wrote in his memoir that this is where he first saw them. See also Bormann 2007–8, pp. 118, 130.
7. According to his diary, Beckmann worked on the canvas from Sept. 6 to Oct. 2. MB, *Tagebucher* 1955, 1945: Sept. 6, 12, 15, 22, 27, Oct. 2, 14; pp. 121–25. The picture list records Oct. 9 as the date of completion.
8. According to Beckmann's diary, he made an initial design for the portrait (likely directly on the canvas) on Sept. 6, just three days after attending a performance of William Shakespeare's *Measure for Measure* at Berger's. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 121. Beckmann's sketching sessions followed on the morning of Sept. 12, on Sept. 15 in his studio, and again on Sept. 22. Ibid., pp. 122–24. See also Erhard Göpel, "Max Beckmann in seinen späten Jahren (1955)" in *Max Beckmann, Berichte eines Augenzeugen*, ed. Barbara Göpel (Frankfurt: Fischer Taschenbuch, 1984), p. 125. According to Quappi Beckmann, the artist sketched Berger several times, and he used the studies for the portrait. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 39.
9. Ludwig Berger to Georg Syamken, July 17, 1968, copy, Erhard Göpel† and Barbara Göpel, Munich. This exchange took place during preparations for a major exhibition of Morton D. May's collection (Bielefeld 1968) at the Kunsthalle Bielefeld, where Syamken worked. On this exhibition, see Intro.
10. See Zeiller 2010, vol. 2, p. 896. Berger mentioned two sketches in his 1968 letter to Syamken (note 9), noting that the second one was perhaps even more beautiful than the first (fig. 23/2). He gave the first to the Berliner Schillertheater; it is now in the Stiftung Stadtmuseum, Berlin. The second drawing has not been located. According to Morton D. May's object record, it was in a private collection, but the one referenced (and illustrated in Munich 1964 as in a New York private collection) is the drawing in the Stadtmuseum (fig. 23/2). See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 421. Berger's praise of the second drawing, which he compared to the art of Matthias Grünewald, makes it unlikely that he was referring to the sketchbook page (fig. 23/3).
11. Berger to Syamken (note 9).
12. See Lenz 2007–8, p. 80, n. 83. Lenz cited here a passage from the copy of a 1968 letter from Berger to Syamken (note 9). In a conversation with the author, Sabine Fischer-Mahr noted that Berger was homosexual but not open about his sexual orientation. It is unclear whether Berger was implying any possible reference in the painting to his sexuality.
13. Berger to Syamken (note 9).
14. According to Stephan von Wiese, Beckmann began reading Blavatsky's writings in 1934. Wiese, "Vorwort," in MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, p. 12. *The Secret Doctrine* contains a section on the lotus as symbolic of the universe and as "the emblem of the productive powers of both spiritual and physical nature." H. P. Blavatsky, *The Secret Doctrine: The Synthesis of Science, Religion, and Philosophy* (London: Theosophical Publishing Co., 1888), p. 379. Beckmann/Schaffer 1992, pp. 108–295. See also Thomas Noll, "Max Beckmann und die Geheimlehre der Helena von P. Blavatsky," in *Max Beckmann Beiträge 2004/5* (Munich: Max Beckmann Archive, 2006), pp. 48–74.
15. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Sept. 10, 1947, p. 208; Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 39.
16. *Deutsches Bühnen-Jahrbuch* (note 2).
17. New York et al. 1946. The painting was sent to Valentin in early 1946, along with *Acrobats* (cat. 19) and *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21). MB to CV, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Jan. 14, 1946, no. 760, p. 109.
18. Beckmann informed Valentin in advance of Berger's right of first refusal, noting that the film director would probably visit the gallery. MB to CV (note 17).
19. Berger stopped by the gallery in Mar. 1946 and planned to return. CV to MB, Apr. 1, 1946, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.3, Archives, MoMA.
20. Invoice, Catherine Viviano Gallery, June 5, 1956, May Archives, SLAM.
21. Charles Nagel to MDM, July 17, 1956, copy, May Archives, SLAM.

Cat. 24
Studio (Female Nude and Sculpture), 1946

Oil on canvas; 35¾ x 53¼ in. (90.8 x 135.3 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 857:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / A 46*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Atelier (Frau mit Plastik)* (Studio [Woman with Sculpture]), *Atelier (Olympia)* (*Studio [Olympia]*), *Atelier* (*Studio*), *Frau mit Plastik* (Woman with Sculpture), *Olympia, Weiblicher Akt mit Plastik* (Female Nude with Sculpture)[13]

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, u.r., in graphite: *41½* [illegible, possibly "10"]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Lightweight linen fabric. In 1958 original support was lined onto medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Moderately thickly applied. Moderate dry-brush texture and impasto. Paste vehicular paint consistency in opaque colors, over which transparent glazes of black and green were applied. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Canvas texture visible. Minimal cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 varnish applied. By 1985 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; before 1949, to J. B. Neumann, New York; before 1949, to Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), New York; sold, Nov. 18, 1949, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1946. Amsterdam: 6) Atelier (Weiblicher Akt u Skulptur) 22.II; 15.III; 15.VI. Neumann Buster May St. Louis*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 593, p. 80. Göpel 1976, no. 719, vol. 1, pp. 431, 535, 541, 554; vol. 2, p. 264 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1945: Dec. 29; 1946: Feb. 10, 22, 27, Mar. 17, Apr. 2, June 19, 30; pp. 135, 141–43, 145, 147, 154–56. Lackner 1962, pp. 18, [19] (fig. 8 [color]). Gäßler 1974, p. 6. Spieler 1995, p. 147 (color ill.), 156. Westheider 1995, p. 112, n. 244. Selz 1996, pp. 76, 77 (fig. 73 [color]). Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 311. Billeter et al. 2008, p. 318 (color ill.), 329. Kienle 2008, pp. 68, 71 (fig. 18 [color]). Stuttgart 2012–13, pp. 74 (fig. 17 [color]), 75.

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago 1951, cat. 28, n.pag. St. Louis 1952, cat. 2, p. 9. St. Louis 1954 (no cat.). St. Louis 1955b, (no cat.). St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 72, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 80, n.pag.;

Denver 1960, cat. 78, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 62, pp. 86 (ill.), 151.; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 58, n.pag., fig. 57 (color); London 1965, cat. 61, pp. 14 (color ill.), 29. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 34, p. 8. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 21, pp. 10, 49 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 21, pp. 10, 49 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 21, pp. 10, 49 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 21, pp. 10, 49 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 21, pp. 10, 49 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 29, pp. 18 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 41, pp. 15, 77 (color ill.). Austin 1974, p. 43. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 109, pp. 49–50, 297 (color ill.), 313. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 3, 24 (ill.), 25. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 46, pp. 160, 161 (color ill.), 232. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 47, pp. 71 (color ill.), 232. Bern 2006, pp. 21, 90, 97 (color ill.), 132, 157. Munich 2012, cat. 67, pp. 25, 232, 233 (color ill.), 325.

NOTES

1. MB to CV, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Jan. 14, 1946, no. 760, p. 110. "Brauche dringends[t] entsetzlich viel Leinwand. . . . Hier ist fast nichts zu bekommen[.] Die letzten Bettdücher sind vermalt."

2. According to Quappi Beckmann, the linen for two canvases—the present painting and *Afternoon* (1946; Göpel 724), which she referred to as *Visit*—was prepared by an outside party. "Die beiden Bilder *Besuch* und *Atelier mit Frau und Plastik* sind auf Bettücher gemalt, da es keine Leinwand gab. . . . M. B. ließ sie aufspannen und konnte sie gebrauchen." (The paintings *Visit* and *Studio with Woman and Sculpture* are painted on bedsheets because there was no canvas. . . . M.B. had them stretched and could use them.) MQB, "Anmerkungen," in MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 414. See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 434.

3. Karin von Maur read the gesture as a Nazi salute and compared it to Georg Baselitz's 1979–80 *Model for a Sculpture* (Museum Ludwig, Cologne). Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 160.

4. MB to Caesar Kunwald, MB, *Briefe* 1 1993, Oct. 27, 1904, no. 15, p. 27.

5. T. J. Clark, *The Painting of Modern Life* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1984), esp. pp. 79–146. May did not perceive any challenge to the tradition of the female nude in Beckmann's painting, describing it in an accession record as a motif of "awakening." May Archives, SLAM.

6. Valentin was involved in renaming many paintings by Beckmann. The title *Olympia* appears on an invoice from the Buchholz Gallery dated Nov. 18, 1949, May Archives, SLAM. See Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 431; and note 11. The painting has continued to be known by both titles, often simultaneously.

7. Lackner 1962, p. 18.

8. Beckmann's 1946 income list (Notebook 2, MB Estate, Berlin) notes the sale of the painting on Nov. 25, 1946: "New. M. Akt m. Plastik. 25.11. / 3500." Having destroyed his earlier diaries upon the German invasion of Holland, Beckmann often made use of creative nicknames and abbreviations rather than full names. "New M." is an abbreviation for J. B. Neumann, "neu" being German for "new." On the destruction of his diaries, see MQB, "Vorwort," in MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. [5].

9. Beckmann's listing of the sale of two other paintings on Dec. 24 is accompanied by his symbol for Tannenbaum (a small pine tree followed by the word "baum," because in German his last name means "pine tree"). The notation of the Tannenbaum sale directly follows that of *Studio* to "New. M." in the 1946 income list (see note 8).

10. Mannheim 1994–95, pp. 68, 70. Christmut Präger, in an essay on Beckmann's 1947 portrait of Herbert Tannenbaum (*Tannenbaum Goes to New York* [Göpel 738]) and the dealer's biography, did not mention a meeting before that in Holland in 1940. Präger, "Der Blick des Künstlers und sein Gegenüber," in Lauter/Präger 2005, p. 27. According to Rolf Lauter, Beckmann and Tannenbaum first met in the 1930s. Ibid., p. 4. Beatrice von Bormann described Tannenbaum's role as Beckmann's dealer as "superficial." Bormann 2007–8, p. 119.

11. In a letter to Perry Rathbone, then director of the City Art Museum, St. Louis, Valentin referred to the canvas as "another painting by Max which you have never seen and which a friend of mine bought in Amsterdam called 'Olympia'; almost the same subject as Manet's *Olympia* (only better, as Max would say)." CV to Perry Rathbone, Nov. 19, 1949. Perry Rathbone Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C. It is not clear whether this "friend" was Neumann or Tannenbaum. Tannenbaum also commissioned Beckmann to paint his portrait (see note 10).

12. Valentin and Tannenbaum knew each other from the 1920s on. Joachim W. Storck, "Herbert Tannenbaum—Versuch einer Lebensbeschreibung," in Mannheim 1994–95, p. 27.

13. In his diary, Beckmann called the canvas *Große Frau mit Plastik* (Large Woman with Sculpture) (Feb. 10); *Atelier (Frau mit Plastik)* (Studio [Woman with Sculpture]) (Feb. 22); and *Frau mit Plastik* (Woman with Sculpture) (Feb. 27). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, pp. 141–43.

Cat. 25
Large Laren Landscape with Windmill, 1946

Oil on canvas; 51½ x 29¾ in. (130.8 x 75.6 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 856:1983
Signed and dated, l.c.: *BECKMANN / A 46*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Landscape with Windmill, Moinho de Vento* (Windmill), *The Windmill* (*Die Windmühle*), *Windmill*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On stretcher, u.l., on yellowed label, typed: *Max Beckmann / "The Windmill" 1946 / 51⅛ x 29½ inches / Box 8 No. 22* [in graphite:] *Box 8 #22*; u.c., in black crayon: *#55*["23"?]; u.c., on discolored label, typed: *Box No. 5 / #76 "The Windmill"* [in graphite:] *#79*; u.r., on masking tape, in blue ink: *5 / 3*; c.l., on torn label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 EAST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK /* [in blue graphite:] *53* [typed:] *"The Windmill" 19* [torn] / [. . .] [typed:] *Max Beckmann* / [. . .] [typed:] *Oil 51 x 29½* [. . .] / [. . .] [typed:] *617* [in red graphite:] *54* [encircled] [typed:] *Foto.*; l.r., in red crayon: *K8*
On backing board, u.r., on browned label, typed: *MAX BECKMANN (German) (1884–1950) / 73 The Windmill 1946 / Oil on canvas* [in blue crayon:] *58P*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Lightweight, plain-weave linen. In 1960 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin throughout. Variable smooth and brushy areas. Moderate localized impasto. Paste vehicular paint consistency in opaque colors, over which transparent black glazes were applied. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. In areas where paint is lean, there are pronounced shrinkage cracks and poor adhesion to the ground layer, with paint cleavage evident. In 1960 cleavage was consolidated from the back and locally on the front. Canvas texture visible in thin areas. Paint generally insecure. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1960 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 1984 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Dec. 25, 1946, to Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), New York; sold, July 20, 1955, to Gertrude Lenart Bernoudy, St. Louis; sold, Nov. 17, 1959, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Amsterdam 1946: 16) Große Landschaft aus Laren m Windmühle 18.VI; 23. Juli; beendet 15. August Valentin*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 583, pp. 61, 80, fig. 75. Göpel 1976, no. 726, vol. 1, pp. 435, 535, 546, 554; vol. 2, p. 264 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1946: June 19, July 13, 23, Aug. 15, 27, Dec. 26; pp. 154–55, 158–59, 162–63, 174. Fischer 1972, p. 181. Lackner 1977, pp. 37 (fig. 43), 152. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 156 (fig. 14 [incorrect ill.; repr. as fig. 13]), 303, 466. Spieler 1995, pp. 158, 159 (color ill.). Basel 2011–12, pp. [40] (fig. 23 [color]), 51, 53, n.39.

EXHIBITIONS: Buffalo 1947, cat. 12, n.pag., ill. New York 1947, cat. 5, n.pag., fig. 1. São Paulo 1955, cat. 2, p. 44. St. Louis 1960, cat. 73, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 81, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 79, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 35, pp. 8, 9 (ill.). Bielefeld 1968, cat. 20, pp. 10, 48 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 20, pp. 10, 48 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 20, pp. 10, 48 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 20, pp. 10, 48 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 20, pp. 10, 48 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 28, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 40, pp. 15, 76 (color ill.). Cologne 1984, cat. 61, betw. pp. 136 and 137 (color ill.), 314. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 25, 26 (color ill.). Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91 (Leipzig only), cat. 82, pp. 210, 211 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 7, pp. 32, 33 (color ill.), 81. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 48, pp. 156, 164, 165 (color ill.), 233. Hamburg et al. 1998–99, cat. 78, pp. 25, 42, 175 (color ill.), 183. Munich et al. 2007–8, cat. 42, pp. 248, 249 (color ill.).

NOTES

1. In the 1990s, Beckmann's landscapes began to receive increased attention. See Rother 1990; Peter 1993; Hamburg et al. 1998–99; Basel 2011–12.

2. Beckmann and his wife were in Laren for a day in April and then again from May 15 to June 11, and June 14 to 17, 1946. See MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1946: Apr. 25–27, May 15–June 17; pp. 151, 153–54; See also Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 164.

3. The illegible forms in the window to the left have been described, unconvincingly, as an embracing couple. See Frankfurt 1990–91, p. 32; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 164.

4. Erhard Göpel, "Max Beckmann in seinen späten Jahren (1955)," in Göpel (1955) 1984, p. 126. ". . . denn ein eigentümlicher Ehrgeiz packt ihn . . . gerade die mißratenen Kinder auf den guten Weg zu bringen."

(. . . because the strange compulsion overcame him . . . to put the ill-bred children in particular on the right path.)
5. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 27, 1946, p. 163.
6. For a reproduction of the second drawing, *Dutch Landscape near Laren*, dated May 28, 1946, in the lower right-hand corner, see Bielefeld 1977, no. 188, p. 70.
7. Beatrice von Bormann, "Landschaften des Exils—Max Beckmanns niederländische Jahre 1937–1947," in Basel 2011–12, p. 51. The couple's status—and the threat of deportation to Germany—lasted a year after war's end. See Göpel (note 4), p. 80.
8. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 164. Charles Haxthausen described the windmill in SLAM's painting as "some disguised malevolent force." Haxthausen 1985, p. 26.
9. MQB, Dec. 15, 1946, diary, AAA, Washington, D.C. See also Bormann (note 7).
10. Beckmann's income list for 1946 (Notebook 2, MB Estate, Berlin) notes the sale to Valentin on Dec. 25, the same day as *Sculptor's Studio* (cat. 26). ("Mühle bei Laren an V. 25.12 / 2000"). See also MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Dec. 26, 1946, p. 174. The painting was shipped, along with seven others, including *Sculptor's Studio*, to Valentin, arriving on Feb. 7, 1947. CV to MB, Feb. 14, 1947, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.4.6, Archives, MoMA. See also New York 1947. A letter from the executor of the Valentin estate claims that the painting was purchased by the Buchholz Gallery from the artist on Feb. 7, 1947. Ralph Colin to William Eisendrath Jr., July 8, 1968, SLAM Archives. The work also appears in a list drawn up by Valentin of twenty-two paintings that "arrived from Amsterdam." "As far as I know the following belong to me: 'Windmill' . . . I owe you for the 'Windmill' $1200." CV to MB, Sept. 19, 1947, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.4.9 Archives, MoMA.
11. Various dates exist for the birth of Gertrude Lenart Bernoudy. The year listed here follows Osmond Overby, *William Adair Bernoudy, Architect* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1999). Overby relied on documents from the William Adair Bernoudy Collection, Missouri History Museum, St. Louis.
12. Ibid., p. 111. According to a letter from the executor of the Valentin estate (see note 10), Lenart Bernoudy purchased the painting on July 20, 1955. Jane Wade (of the Curt Valentin Gallery) mentioned in a letter that the painting's new owners were awaiting its return from an exhibition in Brazil (São Paulo 1955). Wade to Arturo Profili, Museu de Arte Moderna, São Paulo, Nov. 4, 1955, copy, May Archives, SLAM.
13. In addition to the Beckmanns, Bernoudy was close to Perry Rathbone. In his diary, Beckmann noted that "Bill" wanted to buy a painting. MB *Tagebücher* 1955, Oct. 30, 1948, p. 283.
14. Overby (note 11), p. 115. A 1961 list of insurance values of works the Bernoudys owned includes examples by Braque, Kirchner, Klee, Picasso, and many others. Frenkel & Co. Inc., Sept. 12, 1961, William Adair Bernoudy Collection (note 11), box 3, folder 10.
15. Invoice, Gertrude Bernoudy to MDM, Nov. 17, 1959, May Archives, SLAM. The Bernoudys also owned Beckmann's *Sea Lions* (1950; Göpel 829) and a drawing entitled *Headwaiter*, which they loaned to a Beckmann exhibition at the City Art Museum (St. Louis 1956). Director's office, exhibition files, SLAM.
16. MDM to MQB, Nov. 19, 1959, May Archives, SLAM. The identity of the painting to which May referred is not clear; the collector wrote here that he sold it through the Paul Kantor Gallery, Los Angeles.

Cat. 26
Sculptor's Studio, 1946

Oil on canvas; 39¾ x 47¹¹⁄₁₆ in. (101 x 121.1 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 855:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *BECKMANN / A 46*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Atelier, Spiegelatelier* (Mirror Studio), *Studio Corner* (*Atelierecke*)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
In departmental files: On torn beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 East 57th Street, New York / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *The Studio Conner. [sic] 1946 /* [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *MEDIUM* [typed:] *oil 39⅜ x 47¼ /* [printed:] *& SIZE / No* [typed:] *7618* [printed:] *Foto*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Heavy-weight, open-weave linen. In 1965 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory microcrystalline wax to correct surface distortions and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application moderately thick. Moderate dry brush texture and impasto. Paste vehicular paint consistency in opaque colors, over which transparent black glazes were applied. Variable matte and glossy black paint. Canvas texture visible. Atypical extensive presence of drying (developed over changes in the design) and mechanical cracking (caused by movement of the support). **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1965 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Dec. 25, 1946, to Curt Valentin, New York; sold, Jan. 18, 1949, to Selma and Israel Rosen, Baltimore; sold, June 15, 1965, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1946 Amsterdam: 19) Bildhaueratelier angef. 2.VI; 3.10; 1.11; 18.12. Valentin bought Dr. Rosen Baltimore*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 588 (as *Atelierecke*, Dr. Rosen, Baltimore [USA]), p. 80; no. 611 (as *Bildhaueratelier*, Privatbesitz), p. 81. Göpel 1976, no. 735, vol. 1, pp. 53, 441, 548, 554; vol. 2, p. 267 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1946: July 3, Oct. 3, Nov. 20, Nov. 28, Dec. 18; Jan. 18, 1949; pp. 156, 166, 171–73, 354. Fischer 1972, pp. 62, 118. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 46, 141 (fig. 9), 142. Rosen 1986, n.pag., color ill. Paris et al. 2002–3, p. 66 (ill.). Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 140.

EXHIBITIONS: St. Louis et al. 1948–49, cat. 42, pp. 80 (ill.), 97. Baltimore 1952 (no cat.). Baltimore 1957 (no cat.). Baltimore 1963 (no cat.). Nashville et al. 1966, cat. 21, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 33, p. 8. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 92, p. 47; Munich 1968–69, cat. 88, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 92, p. 47. Bremen 1969b, cat. E9, n.pag.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 30, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 39, pp. 15, 75 (ill.). Austin 1974, p. 43. St. Petersburg, Fla. 1980, cat. 1, n.pag. Cologne 1984, cat. 64, p. 315. Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 6, pp. 30, 31 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 49, pp. 110, 166, 167 (color ill.), 190, 233. Munich et al. 2007–8 (not in cat.). Stuttgart 2012–13, cat. 45, pp. 18, 61, 74, 102 (color ill.), 263.

NOTES
1. Curt Valentin appears to have assigned to this painting the English title "Studio Corner," which has been translated into German as "Atelierecke" (see for example Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949).
2. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, July 3, 1946, p. 156.
3. For a discussion of the ambiguousness of the scene (whether the woman is in front of a window or part of a painting within a painting), see Frankfurt 1990–91, p. 30.
4. Fischer 1972, p. 62.
5. According to his diary, Beckmann worked from July to Dec. 1946 on the canvas.
6. Frankfurt 1990–91, p. 30.
7. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 166.
8. Fischer 1972, p. 62. Such a covered sculpture can be seen in *Sculptor's Dream* (1947; Göpel 737).
9. See also *Still Life with Sculpture* (1936; Göpel 448) and *Studio (Night)* (fig. 15/1).
10. Beckmann's income list for 1946 (Notebook 2, MB Estate, Berlin) notes the sale to Valentin on the same day—Dec. 25, 1946—as that of *Large Laren Landscape with Windmill* (cat. 25) ("Atelierinterieur an V. 25.12 / 1400"). The painting was shipped to Valentin, along with seven others, including *Large Laren Landscape*, and arrived in New York on Feb. 7, 1947. CV to MB, Feb. 14, 1947, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.4.6, Archives, MoMA. According to Anja Tiedemann in an e-mail to the author, May 21, 2013, in 1951 Valentin owned about twenty-five works by Beckmann (including cat. 8). CV to Karl Buchholz, June 10, 1951, Zentralarchiv, Berlin, Nachlass Karl Buchholz, Ordner 21. For more on Valentin, see Anja Tiedemann, *Die "entartete" Moderne und ihr amerikanischer Markt. Karl Buchholz und Curt Valentin als Händler verfemter Kunst* (Berlin: Akademie, 2013).
11. Curt Valentin, as cited on a catalogue card of the Selma and Israel Rosen collection, copy, May Archives, SLAM. The quote from Valentin, which the Rosens transcribed on the card, continues, ". . . that is the reason I kept it in my home, and it is credited to my name and not to the name of my Gallery." See also Rosen 1986.
12. Valentin informed the artist that he had sold "my 'Studio Corner.'" "Of course, I didn't want to sell it, but the more Beckmann pictures that get around the better for all of us." CV to MB, Jan. 24, 1949, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.5, Archives, MoMA.
13. See Carol Wharton, "A Doctor Catches Collecting Fever," *Sunday* [Baltimore] *Sun*, June 8, 1952, for several photographs of the Rosens with their collection. Israel Rosen Collection 1968–1988, Special Collections, Milton S. Eisenhower Library, The Johns Hopkins University.
14. Morton D. May's accession record notes the date of the sale as June 7, 1965. However, this is the date of the invoice. The Rosens met Morton D. May at an exhibition of May's collection at the Baltimore Museum of Art in 1962, which prompted the eventual sale. Israel Rosen to MDM, Mar. 7, 1965, May Archives, SLAM.

Ba Kinanga
L. L. 49

CHAPTER 5

St. Louis

Cats. 27–34

CHAPTER 5

St. Louis

A pen and ink drawing by Max Beckmann, signed and dated December 5, 1947, shows students hard at work at easels or holding sketch tablets (fig. 28).[1] They focus on an oversized nude male model. The setting, rendered with relative accuracy, is the large classroom on the ground floor of Bixby Hall at Washington University, St. Louis, where the artist had been teaching for over two months. Some of the students are identifiable; among them are Walter Barker, Warren Brandt, and George Gunther, all of whom were enrolled in Beckmann's fourth-year painting course.[2] Executed after class had ended, *Students* combines true-to-life details, such as Barker's lanky form at the far left and the room's long overhead skylight, with the exaggerated form of the nude, a motif often found in the artist's allegorical work.[3] The combination of lived and imagined experience was a key maxim not only of Beckmann's art, but also of his pedagogy.

The seven paintings in this chapter, four of which are portraits, illuminate Beckmann's artistic practice during the nearly two years—1947 to 1949—in which he lived and worked primarily in St. Louis. While his oeuvre shows little in the way of a dramatic rupture with the past, the sensations of an entirely new American environment, the renewed challenge of teaching responsibilities after a break of fourteen long years, and increased social activity after a decade of exile in Amsterdam inspired the artist, now in his early sixties. The individuals Beckmann portrayed in St. Louis were deeply engaged with him, either as students, fellow artists, museum professionals, or collectors; they populate his portraits (see cats. 32–34), as well as his still lifes (see cat. 27) and large-scale figure paintings (see cat. 30).[4] The works of this period demonstrate Beckmann's continuing interest in both the visible world and the non-illusionistic construction of space on a two-dimensional surface, a preoccupation of his writings during this time as well. Although produced as teaching tools, these texts function equally as artist's statements.

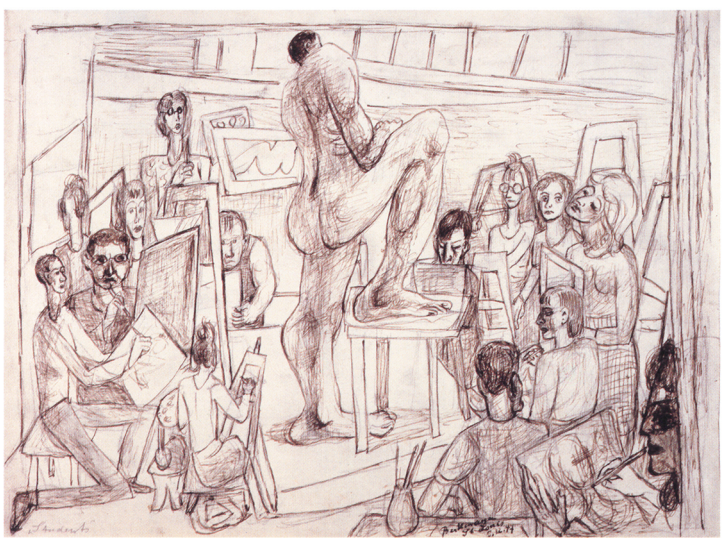


Fig. 28. Max Beckmann. *Students*, 1947. Pen and ink on paper; 31.3 x 41.5 cm. Private collection.

Max Beckmann the Teacher

After leaving Amsterdam and pausing briefly in New York, the Beckmanns arrived in the heart of the American Midwest on September 17, 1947. The St. Louis press heralded Beckmann both as an exiled anti-fascist (see Chapter 6) and "noted German painter."[5] Earlier that year, Kenneth Hudson, dean of the Washington University School of Fine Arts, was looking for a temporary replacement for a member of the faculty, the American painter Philip Guston, who had received a Guggenheim Fellowship that allowed him to go abroad. Initially, Beckmann was hired for two terms, pending Guston's return. When in 1948 Guston received a fellowship at the American Academy in Rome, Beckmann's appointment was extended for an additional academic year.[6]

Washington University's art faculty was well acquainted with Beckmann's oeuvre. Even before the painter's arrival, the German-trained art historian H. W. Janson, who would go on to write a widely read volume on the history of art, discussed Beckmann's work in his courses.[7] As director of the university's art collection (today the Kemper Art Museum), Janson had purchased Beckmann's *Artists with Vegetables* (1943; Göpel 626) in 1946. Hudson hired Beckmann largely on the recommendation of his dealer Curt Valentin, who had been working

to find the artist a teaching position in the United States. The choice was enthusiastically endorsed by students and faculty members such as Guston, Fred Becker, Fred Conway (see cat. 34), and Steve Green. Conway later claimed that Beckmann's appointment gave "everybody connected with the school the feeling that we had made it to the big leagues."[8] City Art Museum director Perry Rathbone was also a major supporter of Beckmann. His strong interest in German art had developed during his tenure at the Detroit Institute of Arts in the 1930s under its director, the German-born and -trained William Valentiner.[9] As discussed in Chapter 4, Rathbone acquired Beckmann's *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21) for the museum in 1946, and he had visited the artist in Amsterdam. Rejecting other offers, including several from German institutions, Beckmann chose Washington University because of these contacts and because St. Louis had earned a reputation for being cosmopolitan.[10] His new American home would come to remind the artist of Frankfurt, where he had spent many happy years in a strong and supportive circle of friends and patrons (see Chapter 3).[11]

Initially anxious about resuming teaching after such a long hiatus, Beckmann was pleasantly surprised by his American students. Washington University was known at the time as a "streetcar college," because of its predominantly local student body. Many of the artist's students were young veterans who had returned to school on the G.I. Bill.[12] In a letter to his first wife, the artist mentioned finding his charges well prepared, his predecessor (Guston) having been, according to the German painter, a "Beckmann follower" (*Beckmannjaner*).[13] For the first day of class, he prepared a written statement that Quappi Beckmann read aloud. Her strong English-language skills made her Beckmann's interpreter both in the classroom and beyond. In his talk, the painter advised the students to work from life but to avoid mimesis at all costs.[14] "I do not have to tell you," he stated, "that there can be no question of thoughtless imitation of nature." The first assignment—or "problem," as he called it—was to paint a still life; later the students worked from the nude.[15] Drawing was central to the program at Washington University, and Beckmann, whose official title was "Instructor in Drawing and Painting," also considered it critical to his own practice.[16] In the same statement, he emphasized the difference between drawing and painting. In painting, he counseled, "the composition, by means of space and distribution of surface, has to be executed up to the last part of the picture. In drawing, space may be improvised, sometimes by omission and sometimes by suggestion."[17] Even when sketching from nature, however, the artist advised, one must keep the formal structures and relationships of composition in mind. On November 22, Beckmann, inspired by seeing his students at work, quickly sketched an idea for a painting that he would never realize. Following his own advice, Beckmann did not concern himself here, as he would later do in *Students*, with the elaboration of faces or details. Rather, the drawing, entitled *Les Élèves* (The Students), focuses on the horizontals and verticals of tables and easels, as well as people sitting and standing, within a quickly drawn frame.[18]

If Beckmann considered perilous the "thoughtless imitation of nature," he believed what was at the other end of the spectrum—namely "sterile abstractions"—to be equally nefarious.[19] He discussed this at length in a second treatise, which he prepared following an invitation to speak in early 1948 at Stephens College, then a small, two-year women's school, in Columbia, Missouri. Perhaps because his audience was chiefly female, he called the three-part text "Letters to a Woman Painter." Beckmann assumed that the students were bored by both "academic perfections" and abstraction. "The important thing," he argued, "is first of all to have a real love for the visible world that lies outside ourselves as well as to know the deep secret of what goes on within ourselves."[20] Beckmann warned against the dangers of new technologies, including film and photography, although it is now known that he not only embraced these media for entertainment and recreation, but made use of them himself for his own work (see cat. 33). That he required his students to paint a still life from a studio arrangement (see cat. 27), when in his own practice he rarely availed himself of such set-ups, suggests that he believed in the value of the artistic training he had received in Weimar at the turn of the century (see Chapter 1). "In my opinion," Beckmann said on that first day of class in St. Louis, "you ought to learn very much, in order to forget most of it later on."[21]

In press interviews, as well as in his opening statement to his class, Beckmann also stressed the importance of the independence students must have from an instructor. He wanted neither to "raise a flock of little Beckmanns" nor to provide "academic training in the strict sense of the word"; pupils had to find their own way.[22] Before classes began, Hudson had agreed to Beckmann's request that he be allowed to visit the classroom less frequently than did his colleagues.[23] In St. Louis, as in Frankfurt, Beckmann was stringent with his remarks, even when his wife accompanied him to class as translator. Rather, he taught by example, sometimes using his own paintings (on the rare occasions when he invited students to his studio), recommending reading, or taking classes to the City Art Museum. There, for instance, as one student recalled, he criticized the lack of hard outlines and distinct forms in Henri Fantin-Latour's double portrait *The Two Sisters* (fig. 29).[24]

Beckmann also used another method of teaching by example. Calling his lessons "corrections," he painted or drew directly over students' work, adjusting spatial relationships with his characteristic black lines. In one instance, Brandt was working off-campus on a large painting (six by six feet). Because the canvas's size prevented the young man from

Fig. 29. Henri Fantin-Latour (French; 1836–1904). *The Two Sisters*, 1859. Oil on canvas; 98.4 x 130.5 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, Museum Purchase, 8:1937.

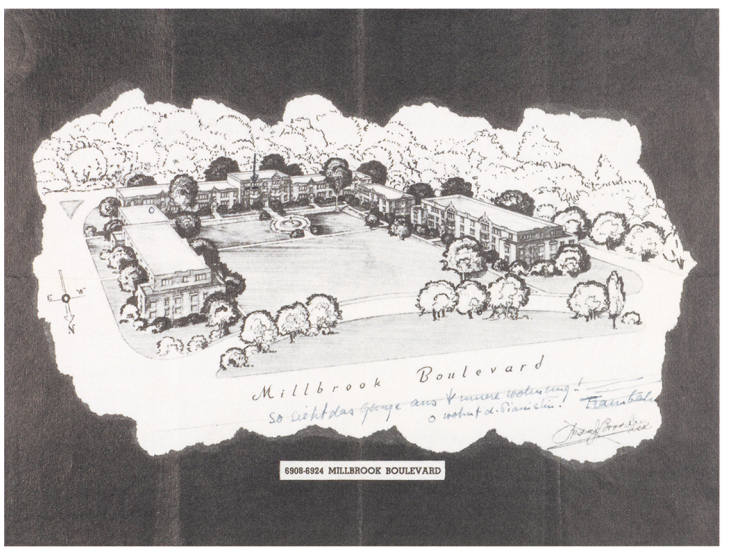


Fig. 30. Millbrook Boulevard, St. Louis, where the Beckmanns lived between 1947 and 1949. Postcard with notations by Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, 1947. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

taking it to the university, Beckmann went to see it. Making large marks in charcoal on the painting, he demonstrated silently how to unite disparate elements spatially. Beckmann became so wrapped up in the "correction" that Brandt wondered if his teacher had forgotten that the painting was not his own.[25] When asked, after he had been teaching again for several years, "Can painting be taught?," Beckmann replied yes, but only up to a point. The lessons he gave, he said, were strictly about the "architecture of the painting." He continued, "Where I can help is in bringing the image to the surface."[26]

Southern Hospitality

Once settled in St. Louis, Beckmann worked almost daily, even on Sundays, in his studio, located at the top of the west stairway of Bixby Hall, not far from the classroom where he taught.[27] Celebrated on campus, Beckmann was also feted in his new city, where in the 1940s, according to Rathbone, "the traditions of southern hospitality [were] cultivated" and social life was at a "perpetual boil."[28] Beckmann's diaries record constant engagements—mostly cocktail parties and dinners with a close-knit circle that included Rathbone and his wife, Euretta; Louise and Joseph Pulitzer Jr. (see cat. 29); the architect Bill Bernoudy (see cat. 25); and Washington University colleagues Hudson and Janson and their wives. Members of this social circle were frequently subjects of his canvases, several of which were commissions.[29] Beckmann often painted a portrait on his own initiative in the hope that the individual who had "inspired" the artist with a particular item of clothing or facial feature might eventually purchase the work.[30] Regardless of the social standing or buying power of the sitter, however, the portraits themselves became an important part of Beckmann's oeuvre. In them, as elsewhere, he sought to develop strong compositions that, as his wife put it, would "stand the test of time."[31]

Rathbone described the artist's approach to portraiture: "One did not 'pose' for Beckmann; he did not 'paint from the model.' On the contrary, the ordeal was entirely his own. . . . Occasionally one would catch sight of his penetrating serious eyes, his deep frown as he worked with utter concentration."[32] In addition to using photographs, Beckmann habitually made one or two drawings from life. Often the artist arranged informal gatherings at which he could observe guests while others, usually Quappi Beckmann, served as host. One evening, Mary Rapp, a private student of the artist's, and her husband, Gil, visited the Beckmanns' faculty apartment on Millbrook Boulevard (see fig. 30). Turning a social call into an impromptu sketching session, Beckmann drew the young couple (see figs. 31–32) as they drank tea, followed by cocktails. Mary Rapp's likeness appears in a number of works from the St. Louis period, including *Still Life with Two Large Candles* (cat. 27) and *Fisherwomen* (cat. 30). Although Beckmann had socialized frequently with her before the evening at his home, in his diary he commented on the advantage of being able to study a subject with charcoal in hand: "Very interesting to see things close up."[33] In his portraits, Beckmann was most concerned with psychological rather than physiognomic accuracy. Many of his sitters, Morton D. May (cat. 32) most fervently among them, argued that, in his portraits, Beckmann achieved

Left: Fig. 31. Max Beckmann. *Portrait of Mary Rapp*, 1948. Charcoal on paper; 37 x 25.5 cm. Private collection.

Right: Fig. 32. Max Beckmann. *Portrait of Gil Rapp*, 1948. Charcoal on paper; 36 x 25.2 cm. Long-term loan, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.

more than mere likeness. As Rathbone put it in 1957, on the occasion of the first exhibition to focus on this aspect of Beckmann's oeuvre, "It is the great portrait painter who possesses the uncanny faculty of observing traits of character that elude the average eye, traits which, to be sure, may even elude the sitter and only become generally recognized with the passage of time. Beckmann has this gift."[34]

Max Beckmann Retrospective

In 1948 Rathbone was steeped in Beckmann's life and work, as he was busily organizing a major retrospective for the artist (see Introduction). The extensive interviews he conducted with the artist served as the basis for his catalogue text. In May Rathbone transformed the City Art Museum's first-floor galleries by filling them with Beckmann's art, including a pantheon of faces that reflected Beckmann's life and career. Taking place twenty years after the last major survey of his career (see Chapter 2), the retrospective was the first of its kind in the United States, and Beckmann and his wife were present on the opening night (see fig. 33). An advance article declared that the retrospective was "the first one-man show by a living Saint Louis artist in the history of the Museum."[35] Beckmann had become a de facto citizen and local in a matter of months and was bestowed an honor, in the form of the exhibition, denied to Guston or even longtime residents such as Conway. Local response to the show was divided, but, as the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* reported, citing reviews in *Art News* and the *New York Times*, it received "unstinted praise" nationwide.[36] After its run in St. Louis, the retrospective traveled to seven additional venues around the country, and Beckmann sometimes went with it.[37] For example, while the exhibition was on view in Boulder, Colorado, he accepted an invitation to teach there for several weeks (see fig. 34 and cat. 36). Thus the show proved critical to his growing reputation in the United States as both artist and teacher. The exhibition's national tour also helped establish the City Art Museum, along with the city of St. Louis, as an example of American "art appreciation [that] is by no means confined to a few great cities on the eastern seaboard. Beckmann himself bore this out by his choice of St. Louis for his permanent American residence."[38]

Despite his renown, Beckmann's position at Washington University was not permanent. It was scheduled to end with the spring semester in 1949. In late 1948, Hudson awaited word as to whether or not Guston would resume his post after his two-year sabbatical.[39] Beckmann, for his part, was troubled by the uncertainty regarding his standing in St. Louis, a feeling

Fig. 33. Max and Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann at the opening of the retrospective exhibition "Max Beckmann," 1948, City Art Museum, St. Louis. Saint Louis Art Museum Archives.

Fig. 34. Max Beckmann with a student, Joan Castrillon, in Boulder, Colorado, June 29, 1949. Archives, University Libraries, University of Colorado at Boulder.

exacerbated by his exile experience in Amsterdam and the complications regarding his visa status in the United States.[40] By the time the dean received confirmation that Guston would not return and made an offer to Beckmann, on January 6, 1949, the German artist had already accepted a position at the Brooklyn Museum Art School. His appointment was due in part to the Mexican artist Rufino Tamayo, who had encouraged Beckmann to relocate to New York. One Washington University faculty member, William Fett, aptly described Beckmann's time in St. Louis as exemplary of a post-war moment of potential decentralization in the American art scene, one that was soon eclipsed by the increasing dominance of New York as the center of the American art world.[41] While brief, Beckmann's stay in St. Louis had a profound impact, exposing students and teachers to his pedagogical approach, building a solid group of supporters and patrons, and increasing recognition for his work nationwide.

NOTES

1. The entry for December 5, 1947, was omitted from the published version of the diaries, but Beckmann made the drawing at home after being on campus that day. MB, diary, Columbia University, New York.

2. I would like to acknowledge the help that Sandy Schultz, David Kaskowitz, and the late Ruth (Tookie) McClenahan (née Harold) provided in identifying their peers.

3. Interestingly, Barker later mentioned that he worked at the far end of the room, describing himself as a "corner person." Barker, interviewing Quappi Beckmann, Feb. 23, 1972, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine. Beckmann depicted a similarly muscular male in other images, such as *Sleeping Athlete* (1946; Hofmaier 359) from the portfolio of lithographs *Day and Dream*.

4. For more on Beckmann and his use of portraiture across genres, see Leipzig 2011–12.

5. Howard Derrickson, "Beckmann, Noted German Painter, Will Teach Art at Washington U.," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 22, 1947.

6. Department of Special Collections, University Archives, Washington University Libraries, St. Louis.

7. For more on Janson and his legacy, see Eckmann 2002.
8. Conway, cited in Frank O'Brien, "Fred Conway," *Washington University Magazine* (Spring 1970), p. 25.
9. While a student at Harvard, Rathbone attended the famous "museum course" taught by Paul Sachs. Valentiner organized the first exhibition of modern German art in the U.S. in 1923 and served as director of the Detroit museum from 1924 to 1944. His acquisition for Detroit of Beckmann's *Still Life with Fallen Candles* (1929; Göpel 302) in 1929 was the first purchase of the artist's work by an American museum. For more on Valentiner, see Margaret H. Sterne, *The Passionate Eye: The Life of William R. Valentiner* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1980).
10. Beckmann initially accepted an offer from Indiana University in Bloomington, but then changed his mind, deciding instead to go to St. Louis.
11. MB to SL, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Oct. 23, 1947, no. 838, p. 187.
12. Warren Brandt estimated that there were about fifteen students in Beckmann's first advanced painting class. Brandt, interview with Walter Barker, Feb. 24, 1971. Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
13. MB to MBT, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Oct. 13, 1947, no. 835, p. 184.
14. MB, "Speech Given to His First Class in the United States, Washington University, St. Louis," in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 310. For more on Beckmann's pedagogical theories and their relationship to his still lifes of this period, see Roth 2011–12.
15. For more on Beckmann's use of the live model in St. Louis, see Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 110–12. Barker later mentioned that the modeling stand was often placed in the center of the room, just as Beckmann depicted it in *Students*. Barker, interviewing MQB (note 3).
16. For the importance of drawing to the Washington University art curriculum, see Archives, Washington University (note 6).
17. MB, "Speech" (note 14), p. 311.
18. See Sketchbook 45, 7v, in Zeiller 2011, p. 818.
19. MB, "Letters to a Woman Painter," in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 317.
20. Ibid.
21. MB, "Speech" (note 14).
22. "Artist Who Fled from the Nazis Begins Teaching at Washington U.," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 23, 1947; MB, "Speech" (note 14), p. 311.
23. Kenneth Hudson to MB, Nov. 20, 1947, Archives, Washington University (note 6). By American standards in general and Hudson's in particular, Beckmann's attitude toward administrative tasks was fairly lax. Quappi Beckmann recalled that her husband requested permission to visit students officially twice a week rather than every day. MQB, interview with Barker (note 3). According to an interview Barker conducted with Brandt (note 12), Beckmann actually turned grading over to these two students.
24. Brandt, interview with Barker (note 12).
25. Ibid.
26. MB, interview with Dorothy Seckler, "Can Painting Be Taught? 1. Beckmann's Answer" (1950), in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 323. It was first published in *Art News* 50, 1 (Mar. 1951), pp. 39–40.
27. Measuring fifteen by twenty feet, Beckmann's studio had a small window and a large north-facing skylight. For more on the studio, see Jim Harris, "Max Beckmann's Diaries Reveal the Man behind the Paintings," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat,* Oct. 13–14, 1984.
28. Rathbone 1964–65, p. 130.
29. For more on the portraits from this period, see Kienle 2008, pp. 96–106.
30. Beckmann's first portrait after his arrival in St. Louis was of Euretta Rathbone; he did one of her husband the following year (Göpel 751, 773, respectively). See Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 118–21. Joseph Pulitzer Jr. purchased the uncommissioned likeness Beckmann did of his wife, Louise (Lulu) (1949; Göpel 781), considerably after the work was finished. Joseph Pulitzer Jr., interview with Walter Barker, May 3, 1970, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine. See also MB to MBT, *Briefe* 3 1996, Apr. 30, 1950, no. 988, p. 319. On Jan. 23, 1949, Beckmann described a cocktail party with the Pulitzers and Rathbones, as well as the Stixes (Ernest Stix was a St. Louis retailer who served on Washington University's board of directors; he and his wife, Erma, were important art collectors), among others. That year the artist expressed disappointment when a commission to portray Erma Stix went to the Mexican painter Rufino Tamayo rather than to him. Ernest Stix Jr., telephone interview with the author, Feb. 23, 2010.
31. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 153. "Vor allem aber . . . sollte ein Portrait ein 'gutes Bild' sein, dessen Integrität als Kunstwerk für alle Zeit erkennbar sein müsse." ("But above all . . . a portrait should be a 'good picture,' whose integrity as an artwork must stand the test of time.")
32. Perry T. Rathbone, "Beckmann as Portrait Painter," in New York et al. 1957, n.pag.
33. MB, diary, Nov. 9, 1947, Columbia University, New York. "Ganz interessant die Dinge in d. Nähe [zu] beschauen." In her notes for a catalogue raisonné of her husband's work, Quappi Beckmann dated the two charcoal drawings to Feb. 19, 1948. MB Estate, Berlin.
34. Rathbone (note 32).
35. Howard Derrickson, "Max Beckmann the Teacher," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Apr. 25, 1948.
36. Howard Derrickson, "Nation's Critics Praise Beckmann," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, June 21, 1948. Local critics, however, were not wholly enthusiastic. For example, Harry Burke bemoaned Beckmann's "garish color and confused line." Burke, "Paintings of Max Beckmann on Exhibit Here Tomorrow," *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, May 10, 1948, p. 6B. For more on the critical response to the exhibition, see Kienle 2008, pp. 52–53.
37. See Intro.; St. Louis et al. 1948–49.
38. Unidentified author [Perry Rathbone?], "Max Beckmann," typewritten MS on City Art Museum letterhead, St. Louis, 1948. This includes a handwritten note on an attached French translation: "Sent to Wildenstein Les Arts, June 24, 1948," implying that its characterization of the artist and his American reception was likely intended for a foreign audience. SLAM Archives.
39. The details are summed up in Barker's interview with Gwen and Kenneth Hudson, Nov. 22, 1969, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
40. It can be argued that the need for security was the primary reason for Beckmann's acceptance of the Brooklyn position. Barker referred to it as the Beckmanns "taking the bird in hand as it were." Ibid.
41. William Fett, interview with Barker, n.d, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.

Cat. 27

Still Life with Two Large Candles

1947
Oil on canvas; 43 x 31 in. (109.2 x 78.7 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 858:1983

On September 23, 1947, the day Beckmann first met his fourth-year painting class at Washington University, Quappi Beckmann, acting as his translator, read aloud to the students a prepared English text (see the introduction to this chapter). In it Beckmann spoke emphatically against the "thoughtless imitation of nature." "If you want to reproduce an object," he instructed, "two elements are required: first, the identification with the object must be perfect; and second, it should contain, in addition, something quite different."[1] Encouraging his students to start by observing the outside world, Beckmann asked them to paint a still life as their initial assignment.[2]

One month later, Beckmann began one of the first canvases of his American period, *Still Life with Two Large Candles*. He followed his own advice in this shadowy scene, with its many emblematic forms. At the center are two candles—one upright and brightly lit, the other fallen and extinguished—objects that often appear as symbols of life and death in *vanitas* images, still lifes that reference life's momentary character.[3] Surrounding the candles on the cluttered table are pink orchids in a small vase, a newspaper, and a large blue vase. These are juxtaposed with objects that refer to the arts: a sculpture bust Beckmann referred to in his diary as a "female wooden figure" (*weibliche Holzfigur*), three painter's palettes, and two pages of sheet music.[4] In keeping with traditional *vanitas* imagery, the painting sets up a contrast between the everlasting nature of the arts and the transience of earthly things.[5] Behind the palettes is a large, framed mirror (also resembling a window with a partly opened sash), an instrument of vanity reflecting time's passing and a common motif in Beckmann's work (see cat. 26). A second mirror, in a gilded, red, circular frame, hangs on the far wall, catching the yellow glow of the candle. Beckmann appears to have followed his initial design quite closely here, making almost no changes as he painted it. Visible areas of bare canvas, as in the erect candle, serve to build rather than destabilize the composition.

An extinguished candle—often in the candleholder seen here—played a central role in Beckmann's painting from immediately after World War I to about 1930.[6] Commentators have interpreted the fallen candle in this still life, along with the two letters ("PA") visible at the top of the newspaper, as wistful reminders of Paris, where he had spent a great deal of time (see Chapter 3).[7] Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer, who offered the first such reading of this painting, suggested, however, that, while the horizontal candle might indeed refer to the past, the candle burning bright (and, perhaps, dangerously fast) at the center is very much a comment on the present, in particular Beckmann's enthusiastic reception in the United States as a "famous painter."[8] Indeed, as discussed in the introduction to this chapter, the St. Louis press laid the groundwork for Beckmann's arrival and played a central role in helping the artist establish himself in his new home. The *St. Louis Post-Dispatch* in particular—the partially legible masthead in the present work might even refer to this newspaper—published a great deal about him, and the artist followed its reports with great interest.

Mary Rapp, an aspiring artist, had read about Beckmann and his work in the local papers prior to his arrival (see figs. 31, 27/1–2). Posing as a newspaper reporter, she boldly introduced herself to him and became his private student. They got together regularly; often, after the painting lessons, which Beckmann referred as "corrections" (see the introduction to this chapter), the two would frequent Garavelli's Tropical Cocktail Lounge, not far from campus. The day after the artist began work on *Still Life with Two Large Candles*, the Beckmanns went on an outing with Rapp and her husband to visit the historic Cahokia Mounds, the archeological remnants of an ancient Amerindian civilization located in Illinois just across the Mississippi River from St. Louis.[9] Indeed, the artist's diaries reveal that he and Rapp met no less than twelve times before he completed the still life.[10]

With the exception of a few portrait commissions, Beckmann by now no longer worked directly from the model. Instead he incorporated the features of those he met or observed into his figural compositions. Thus it is not surprising

Beckmann
M.L.47

that, as Rapp recounted it, Beckmann said that the wood sculpture in *Still Life with Two Large Candles* possesses her features.[11] An ink drawing, signed and dated 1947 (fig. 27/2), shows Rapp dressed in a ruffled blouse and rendered in finer detail than that in the painting's planar profile. In the drawing, a likely product of a teatime session, Beckmann paid considerable attention to his student's hairstyle, scribbling lines one over the other to make the area satisfactorily dark. The artist commented specifically on Rapp's hair in his diary: "Head really delightfully (Irish woman) black."[12] While truncated at the base, the "female wooden figure" in the still life is nonetheless more vital than other statues or sculptures, typically painted black, in Beckmann's paintings (see cat. 24). Here hair and flesh are colored naturalistically, and black is used to accentuate the figure's distinctive hairstyle, closely akin to Rapp's at the time. *Still Life with Two Large Candles* draws on the *vanitas* tradition to reflect both the artist's past and his present as a teacher. Indeed, as he advised his students, in this work Beckmann observed the outside world and found in it "something quite different."

While the still life's current title follows Beckmann's picture list, the painting has gone by a series of names that reflect the ambiguity of the sculpture's identity (female figure or portrait bust) in particular. In fact, the canvas has been confused with one completed in Amsterdam earlier in 1947 entitled *Woman in Front of Mirror with Orchids*, in which an eroticized, half-nude woman admires her reflection.[13] In 1948 Curt Valentin selected the St. Louis painting from the artist's studio, likely intending to sell it on commission.[14] It appeared in an exhibition at the Buchholz Gallery in New York in October 1949 as *Still Life and Profile*, a title that distinguishes the head from the composition's other components. *Still Life with Two Large Candles* was purchased by Morton D. May from Maryland-based collectors William and Ruth Judith Chase in 1967.[15]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 216.

Fig. 27/1. Mary Rapp, Baltimore, 1949.

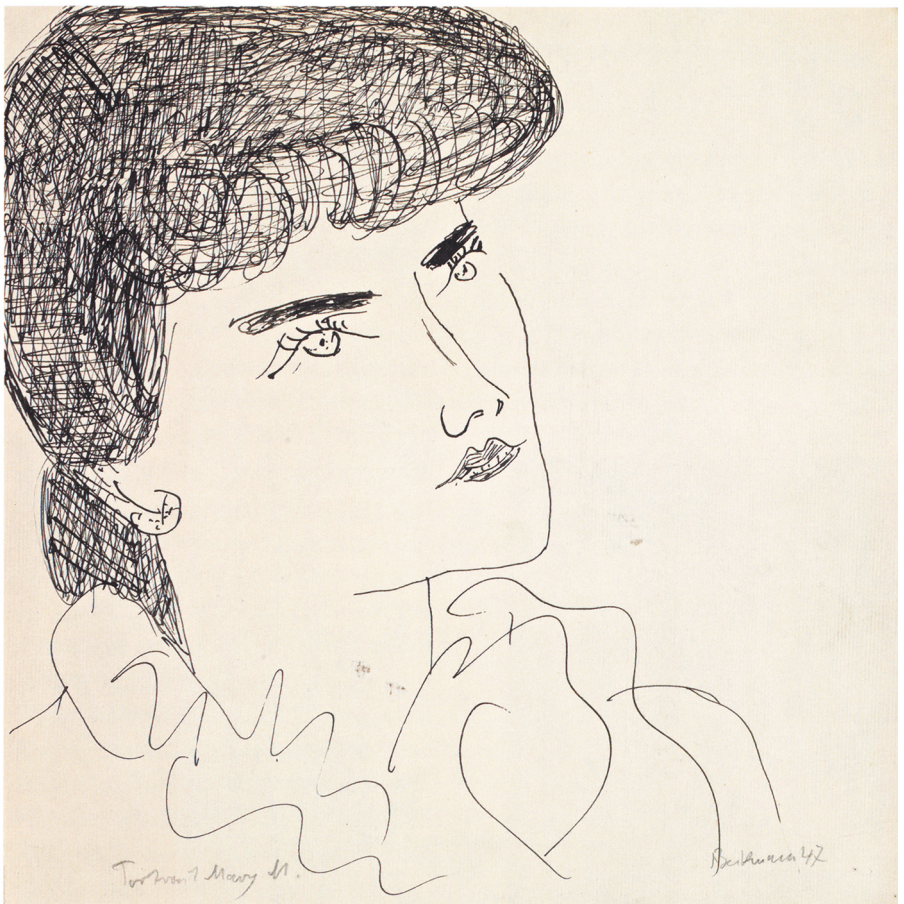


Fig. 27/2. Max Beckmann. *Portrait of Mary Rapp*, 1947. Ink on paper; 29.8 x 30.3 cm. Long-term loan, Museum der bildenden Künste, Leipzig.

Cat. 28

Leda

1948
Oil on canvas; 16 x 20⅞ in. (40.6 x 53 cm)
Gift of George and Edith Rickey, 187:1993

Leda strays from the typical depiction of the mythological figure, whom Zeus seduced in the guise of a swan.[1] Instead, the reclining woman here embraces a crowned male, her mortal husband, Tyndareus, king of Sparta. Leda dominates the foreground, drawing attention away from a dark window frame, behind which are visible the white wings of a bird in flight. According to the Greek myth, Leda slept with both Tyndareus and Zeus on the same night, conceiving Castor (the mortal son of the king) and Polydeuces (the son of the god).[2]

Fig. 28/1. George Rickey (American; 1907–2002). *Annunciation*, c. 1947. Oil on canvas; 77.5 x 54.6 cm. The Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, New York.

Beckmann worked on *Leda* over two and one-half months, frequently noting in his diary his progress on the canvas. Despite its small size, the painting exemplifies the artist's emphatic and varied use of black. *Leda* exhibits brownish black, shiny black detailing, and thin black wash. Beckmann's black-on-brown signature at the lower right is almost illegible. Indeed, the application of dark colors obscures the subject to such an extent that virtually all that can be discerned is the slightly thicker, beige pigment defining the imposing nude. The contrast of Leda's skin tone with the darker shade of her husband's revives an ancient convention for distinguishing between the sexes, a device that can be found in many other works by Beckmann (see cat. 6).

In the fall of 1947 or early in 1948, the American artist George W. Rickey (1907–2002) visited St. Louis. His friend Perry Rathbone, director of the City Art Museum, took him to Beckmann's studio. Having traveled to Germany several times, Rickey read the language and had a long-standing interest in German art, particularly the work of Beckmann, George Grosz, and Swiss-born Paul Klee.[3] At the time of his first meeting with Beckmann, Rickey, who trained as a painter, had only recently begun the experiments in kinetic sculpture for which he is best known.[4] Around 1947 he was painting, like Beckmann, portraits and religious and mythological figures, including a Leda and the Swan, now entitled *Annunciation*, which he described as exhibiting "very free color and free drawing of the forms with allusions to nature rather than descriptions" (fig. 28/1).[5] Beckmann later wrote a very complimentary letter to Rickey: "It does'nt [*sic*] happen to[o] often to find so real understanding for my work as you did!"[6]

After his trip to St. Louis, Rickey could not stop thinking about Beckmann's recently completed *Leda*.[7] He and his wife, Edith (see cat. 33), decided to purchase the work for $350. Beginning in April 1948, they sent Beckmann installments of $30 to $60, a significant sum for a family living on a teacher's modest salary.[8] *Leda* proved to be a highlight of an exhibition of the couple's notable collection that toured numerous museums in 1970. The Rickeys gave the work to the Saint Louis Art Museum in 1993.

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 216–17.

Cat. 29

Masquerade

1948
Oil on canvas; 64 13/16 x 34 15/16 in. (164.6 x 88.7 cm)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pulitzer Jr., 587:1958

Beckmann noted in his diary and picture list that he finished *Masquerade* on May 14, 1948, the day before he attended a masquerade party at the home of his student Wally Barker (*Wallymaskenfest*).[1] As recounted by Perry Rathbone, while preparing for the gathering, Barker heard a "heavy tread on the stairs," followed by a "solemn knock." "In the darkness of the hall loomed a big-broad figure in black smoking [jacket] and black hat, a mask across his eyes."[2] While he may have been startled at first—Rathbone used the phrase "even a bit frightened"—Barker recognized his teacher, to Beckmann's dismay, "almost immediately."[3] A collage (fig. 29/1) made by Quappi Beckmann depicting her husband and herself in the costumes they planned to wear to the university's Beaux-Arts Ball the following week shows the artist sporting the same black mask he donned for Barker's event.[4] Rathbone described Beckmann, who frequently painted himself and others in costumes of all kinds, as enjoying "being his own symbol of the enigma of human personality."[5] The artist's penchant for role-playing and disguise in both life and art (see also cats. 13, 18, 38) is, however, as Carla Schulz-Hoffmann noted, "never innocent playfulness," but, rather "a constant symbol of human compulsions and desires."[6]

Akin to Barker's initial surprise at the appearance in a darkened entryway of his teacher in disguise, the color-filled *Masquerade* thematizes the act of finding something strange or unsettling in the familiar. Two figures stand on the threshold of an iron balcony that overlooks a cluster of vivid green foliage. The right-hand side of the composition opens onto the brown sky of dusk and a flurry of activity on the lawn below, suggested by tiny, bright-colored dots. At the left is an open, paneled glass door (which recalls the ladders that feature in many of Beckmann's compositions [see cats. 9, 37]) with an arrow pointing toward the couple. An interior, with a green wallpapered wall or curtain and a fire burning in the fireplace, is visible through the door. Muscles bulging, the mustached male figure, sporting purple tights and blue slippers, holds a red-and-black implement resembling a pleated paper fan (*Pritsche*) used at Carnival time. According to Beckmann collector Frederick Zimmermann (see cat. 20), a fan such as this was "for hitting passers-by." "In spite of the loud noise which it

Fig. 29/1. Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann (American, born Germany; 1904–1986). *My Costume for the Beaux-Arts Ball with Max (if I had gone)*, 1948. Collage; 27.8 x 22 cm. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

made," he continued, "the blows were harmless."[7] Another detail that merges the comic and threatening is the ridiculous tiny hat balanced on the man's imposing blue head.

The female figure also oscillates between playfulness and menace. On the one hand, she assumes a lighthearted pose, delicately balancing on a slippered foot and leaning with her left elbow on the balustrade; on the other, her large hand grips a skull, a *vanitas* symbol (see cat. 27). While her stance suggests intimacy between the two protagonists, they do not look at each other. The blue decoration on the bodice of her dress has been referred to as a scarf, dance shoes, or, in keeping with more ominous readings, a bundle of bones.[8] Scholars have linked the yellow feline mask that she holds up to her face with the Egyptian cat goddess Bastet, who offered protection against disease and evil spirits. The yellow mane has been associated with a second Egyptian diety, Sekhmet, the fierce lioness goddess of war.[9] An X-ray reveals that the woman was originally painted without a mask (fig. 29/2). When Beckmann added the covering, he blended it with the woman's existing blond hair, making it more an organic part of the figure. Beckmann further accentuated the sinister quality of the scene by filling the oval mirror in the background with the black form of a hooded figure.

As several commentators have argued, *Masquerade* should be seen not as the reflection of an actual event (neither Barker's party nor the ball), but as a commentary on the carnival culture that inspired the artist throughout his career.[10] Indeed, Beckmann referred in his diary to *Masquerade* as "new Carnival" and later "new Masquerade."[11] He initiated work on the canvas the week of February during which Carnival was celebrated in Germany that year, and, while the canvas was in progress, the artist's retrospective exhibition opened at the City Art Museum. Visiting numerous times with interested parties, he saw once again works such as *Family Picture* (1920; Göpel 207, The Museum of Modern Art, New York), which combines the theme of the masked ball or Carnival with that of family. Portraying the family of his first wife, the earlier work includes Minna Beckmann-Tube's by-then deceased mother, of whom Beckmann had been particularly fond. The references to mortality in *Masquerade* could likewise relate to the recent news of the death of the artist's second mother-in-law.[12] As Quappi Beckmann recorded on her collage, she had planned to accompany her husband to the Beaux-Arts Ball dressed as an artist's palette, but, due to her mother's death, Beckmann had to attend the festivities without her.

Masquerade remained in Beckmann's possession until his death. In 1957 it was purchased from his widow by Joseph Pulitzer Jr. (1913–1993), editor and publisher of the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, and his wife, Louise (Lulu) Vauclain Pulitzer (1914–1968; see the introduction to this chapter).[13] In 1939 Joseph Pulitzer, an avid collector of modern art, became the first St. Louisian to purchase a Beckmann painting, the artist's 1927 *Portrait of Zeretelli* (Göpel 277, Harvard Art Museums/Fogg Museum, Cambridge, Massachusetts). The publisher was drawn to the artist's multivalent meanings and to the "sinister" and yet "wry and ironic" duality of *Masquerade* in particular. "You knew the people weren't really sinister but then you weren't quite sure," said Pulitzer.[14] The Pulitzers gave *Masquerade* to the City Art Museum less than two years after purchasing it, along with works by Ernst Ludwig Kirchner and Käthe Kollwitz, among others. In 1959 Pulitzer considered buying Beckmann's last self-portrait (cat. 39), which Morton D. May eventually acquired.[15]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 217–18.

Fig. 29/2. *Masquerade*. X-ray showing the woman's head.

Cat. 30

Large Picture of Women. Fisherwomen

1948
Oil on canvas; 75⅛ x 55⅛ in. (190.8 x 140 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 859:1983

Large Picture of Women. Fisherwomen was one of the most celebrated paintings Beckmann produced during his years in the United States. Prominently displayed at the Carnegie Institute's exhibition "Painting in the United States, 1949," it won first prize, solidifying the artist's position in the American art scene (see figs. 30/1, 35).[1] Writing about the Carnegie exhibition, Dorothy Grafly considered Beckmann's painting to be one of a number of "radical idea canvases" on display that year.[2] This term described works that were neither commissioned nor intended to please viewers, but rather were undertaken with exhibition or museum display in mind. As the artist's title for this canvas indicates, *Large Picture of Women. Fisherwomen* asserts, like his triptychs, its significance first through scale. The painting's impact was also credited to Beckmann's skill as a colorist. For example, Carnegie director Homer Saint-Gaudens praised the artist for employing "startling color and brutal, slashing black lines."[3] In this instance, however, such "lines" are actually worked-over areas of black. Saint-Gaudens could have been describing the white and beige flesh tones that Beckmann introduced on top of black to depict the gartered legs of the central female.[4] Bright colors and washes applied over such a pervasive black structure lend the work a quality akin to that of stained glass.[5]

Just as their poses are pointedly different one from the other, the painting's three primary protagonists represent distinct female types. Each holds a brightly colored fish, varied in size and appearance.[6] In the upper-right background, an elderly woman, described by one writer as a "dour old crone," holds a gigantic green eel.[7] To the far right, a man can be seen, his back to the viewer. The erotic and symbolic content of *Fisherwomen* also contributed substantially to its definition as a "radical idea canvas," at least for an American audience at the time. The exposed backside of the seated female is framed by a vase with an exotic orchid that symbolizes fertility. Fish—a recurring motif in Beckmann's work (see cats. 9, 19)—embody the male creative and sexual force.[8] The noted German-born museum director William Valentiner, a contemporary of Beckmann's, spoke of the artist's notion "that man originated in the sea and that we all derive from the fishes, that every male still has something of a particular fish about him: some are like carps, others like sharks, others like eels, which clearly reveals itself in their [love life]."[9] Most commentators have identified the scantily clad young female figures in *Fisherwomen* as prostitutes and the elderly woman as a

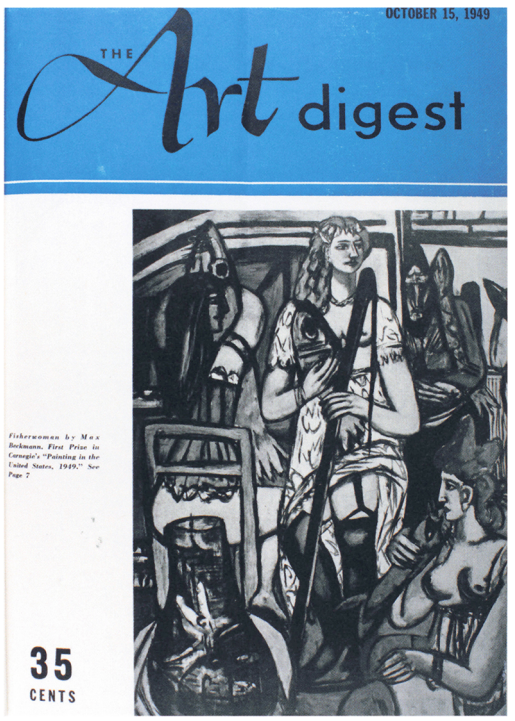


Fig. 30/1. "*Fisherwomen* by Max Beckmann. First Prize in Carnegie's 'Painting in the United States, 1949,'" *Art Digest* 24 (October 15, 1949), cover.

Fig. 30/2. Max Beckmann. *Women Fishing*, 1949. Pastel and charcoal on paper; 60.5 x 44.7 cm. The Art Institute of Chicago, gift of Dorothy Braude Edinburg to the Harry B. and Bessie K. Braude Memorial Collection, 1998.728.

brothel "madam." A *Time* magazine reviewer declared that Beckmann's "lamplit fisherwomen did not look like the sort that go near the water." "Their hot peach flesh," this critic continued, "was set off by garters and contrasted with the cold rose, blue and gold of the gasping fish."[10] The women's successful catch—achieved not just with fishing poles but also by undergarments and revealing gowns—is in fact men. A drawing the artist executed the following year makes this point explicitly: here women sit on the bank of a river having hooked fish with human faces (fig. 30/2).[11] In light of Beckmann's long-standing competitive spirit with Pablo Picasso in particular (see Chapter 3), the painting's size and possible brothel setting make it a response of sorts to the Spanish artist's monumental *Demoiselles d'Avignon* (1907), which has been in the Museum of Modern Art, New York, since 1939.[12] According to Quappi Beckmann, however, Beckmann claimed that the women were catching husbands, not "lover-boys"—a reading supported by the lacy white bridal dress and headpiece worn by the primary figure.[13] When asked about the symbolism of *Fisherwomen* specifically, Beckmann's first response was somewhat bland: "I like fish both to eat and to look at." But then he added, "Also, they are symbols."[14] In a rare bilingual explication, Beckmann stated that fish represent "Geist—spirit. But the man who looks at my pictures must figure them out for himself."[15]

In the summer of 1948, after two semesters at Washington University, the Beckmanns traveled to Amsterdam to settle visa matters and to move their belongings permanently to the United States.[16] Beckmann began work on *Fisherwomen* only a few weeks after returning to old haunts in Holland.[17] He briefly considered making the women Dutch.[18] Shortly before initiating the canvas, Beckmann recounted in his diary how

much he was enjoying Amsterdam nightlife.[19] Ortrud Westheider convincingly suggested that *Fisherwomen* may have been inspired by a revue number, thus combining two distinct realms that the artist had depicted in an earlier drawing, *The Fishermen* (fig. 30/3).[20] In this sheet, which entered the City Art Museum in 1946, a singer, dancer, and musicians are seen above a group of men and women sitting on a river's edge, pulling large, sharklike fish from the water. In effect, the setting of *Fisherwomen* resembles a number of contemporary portrayals by Beckmann of actors behind the scenes (see fig. 6). An earlier work in watercolor and ink from the artist's Amsterdam period exhibits a comparable spatial configuration, albeit reversed (cat. 30/4). It features a backstage area where two seated women primp at a dressing table and another figure in the distance who, like the man in *Fisherwomen*, prepares to go onstage. The Beckmanns presented this drawing, completed in early 1947, to their friend Gisèle d'Ailly van Waterschoot on the day they found out that they could immigrate to the United States.[21]

Beckmann offered *Fisherwomen* to Curt Valentin when the dealer first saw it in Amsterdam, and arrangements for the sale were made that September.[22] After the painting arrived in St. Louis in late November, however, Beckmann returned to it once again, likely revising, as an X-ray reveals, the figure at the lower right, elongating her left arm and shifting it from under her breast to her thigh.[23]After seeing the painting at the Buchholz Gallery the following spring, Saint-Gaudens selected it for the Carnegie exhibition.[24] But before it went on view in Pittsburgh, *Fisherwomen* was purchased by Morton D. May, who, according to the artist, believed it to be the most beautiful picture ever painted.[25] Beckmann too admired the painting "in all its glory" (*in vollem Glanz*) at May's home, shortly after its purchase.[26]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 218–19.

Fig. 30/3. Max Beckmann. *The Fishermen*, c. 1938/46. Pen and ink on paper; 31.5 x 23.8 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, gift of S. Arlent-Edwards by exchange, 110:1946.

Fig. 30/4. Max Beckmann. *Two Dancers* (*Girls with Blue Dwarf*), 1947. Watercolor and ink on paper; 50.5 x 32.5 cm. Castrum Peregrini Foundation, Amsterdam.

Cat. 31

Still Life with Chianti Bottle and Celery

1949
Oil on canvas; 20 1/16 x 25 1/4 in. (51 x 64.1 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 862:1983

While he worked on large figural compositions, Beckmann habitually painted still lifes. His oeuvre contains over one hundred of them, varying widely in scale and subject.[1] Typically imagined scenes, Beckmann's still lifes were sometimes inspired by objects in his studio or home (see cat. 15). *Still Life with Chianti Bottle and Celery* features an array of objects on a table covered by a white cloth. Behind, on the left, is a light-green curtain and, on the right, a large mantel and fireplace. The arrangement on the table evokes the elements of a bar: a Chianti bottle with its signature straw wrapping, a black shaker, a vase containing blue flowers with spikey petals; a jug with "RUM" emblazoned on its side; two glasses; two pears; and a plate with two large, bright green-and-white celery stalks, along with ice cubes and yellow shapes that resemble lemon wedges. Strokes of burgundy-purple slosh like wine in the small glass (see fig. 31/1); this deep color reoccurs in the mantel and fireplace. A portion of the wine glass is unpainted, revealing preprimed canvas, which can also be seen in the flowers' stamens. Here and elsewhere, the pigment was thinned to wash and loosely applied. Wielding his brush almost casually and working with a limited palette of contrasting colors, Beckmann created a refreshing, yet intimate, interior scene.

The brushy quality of *Still Life with Chianti Bottle and Celery* has led to the suggestion that Beckmann painted it in a single session with little or no correction.[2] In his picture list, he recorded only a single date for work on the canvas—April 3, 1949—but this date is erroneous because he was traveling at the time.[3] On November 10, 1948, the artist mentioned a "Still Life with Celery" (*Stilleben mit Sellerie*), perhaps referring to the present composition.[4]

Morton D. May saw the painting in Beckmann's studio and purchased it directly from him.[5] Unlike much of the art in his collection, which hung in his studio (see Introduction) or was often out on loan, this still life may have been displayed in the May home at the request of his second wife, Margie Wolcott May, who is said to have strongly preferred Beckmann's still lifes to his other work.[6] Indeed, *Still Life with Chianti Bottle and Celery* is less symbolically laden and more informally composed than other examples in this genre that May owned (see cat. 27). This, as well as the composition's small scale, would have likely appealed to the collector's spouse. May was known to say that the German artworks he collected were "not the sort . . . you'd hang over your little blue sofa," Nonetheless, his wife and family must have liked *Harbor at Genoa* (cat. 11) because, for many years, it hung over theirs.[7]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 219.

Fig. 31/1. Max Beckmann. *Still Life with Chianti Bottle and Celery*. Detail showing the wine glass.

Cat. 32

Portrait of Morton D. May

1949
Oil on canvas; 30 x 20 in. (76.2 x 50.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 861:1983

In his diary, Beckmann declared Friday, March 25, 1949, to be "Big May-Day."[1] The St. Louis retailer and art collector Morton D. May (1914–1983; see Introduction) had purchased a major canvas by the artist in 1948, but the two men had not yet actually met. In order to remedy this situation, May contacted the City Art Museum and arranged for the artist to paint his portrait. According to the collector, Beckmann "spent two weeks getting to know me before he even made a sketch. Then there were two sittings of not more than a half hour each. Before he started to paint he had pulled out my history. He tried to paint much more than what's on the surface of the canvas."[2]

Despite a lack of expression in the sitter's eyes, the present portrait exudes a distinctive energy. In 1945 May had lost the use of his right arm due to multiple sclerosis, but Beckmann portrayed the thirty-four-year-old retailer gesticulating expressively with both hands.[3] May appears to be moving nervously, his yellow tie slightly askew. "It's a rendering of an emotionally distraught person which is the way I was at the time," May said publicly in 1970. "I think it's a fine painting, but my wife [Margie Wolcott May] hates it, and so do most of my friends."[4] The year the portrait was painted May divorced his first wife, which Beckmann mentioned in his diary.[5] During the sketching sessions to which May referred (according to Beckmann's diary, March 28 and April 7), he discussed his personal life with the artist. Although Beckmann did not let on to most that he spoke some English, May realized that Beckmann understood the language enough (aided as well by Quappi Beckmann) to absorb what he was saying: "I knew what he was painting and I think he did a marvelous job of getting inside of me."[6]

Beckmann called his patron a "man-child" (*Männchen*).[7] Indeed, the canvas shows a more youthful May than the preparatory sketches suggest. In a large charcoal drawing (fig. 32/1), May's features are darker and fuller than in the painting, and he looks very much the part of the general manager of a large department store.[8] His right arm lies motionless in his lap, as it would have in life, while the cigar in his left hand sends

Fig. 32/1. Max Beckmann. *Sketch of Morton D. May,* 1949. Charcoal on paper; 59.7 x 43.2 cm. Collection of Lucia P. May.

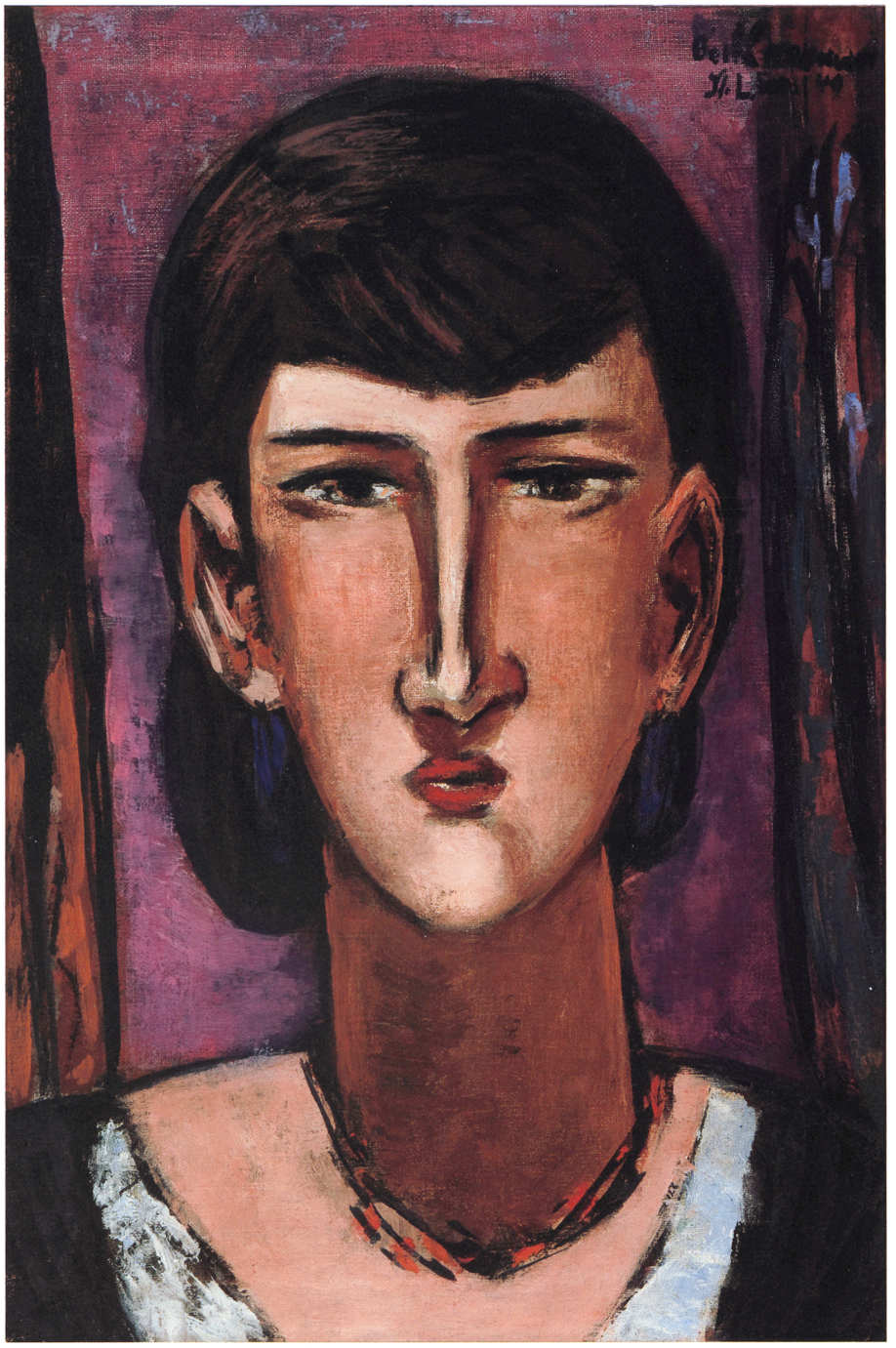
Beckmann
49 54. L

Figs. 32/2–3. Max Beckmann. *Two Sketches of Morton D. May,* 1949. Each graphite on paper; 20.3 x 14 cm. Collection of Lucia P. May.

thick lines of smoke into the air. Pencil sketches (figs. 32/2–3) show two different states: in one May seems agitated—his lips are pursed as if he is about to speak; in the other, he seems quieter, even pensive. The artist began work on the canvas the day after the second sketching session.[9] The paint application is thin, and bare canvas is visible in areas of May's clothing. Washes of pink and blue in the background give the work the feeling of a gouache rather than an oil. Beckmann finished the portrait in less than a week, and May picked it up the day after its completion.[10] Several months later, it was included in an exhibition of Beckmann's art at Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery, New York, and is illustrated in the catalogue alongside the recent portrait of another St. Louis collector and Beckmann supporter, Louise (Lulu) Vauclain Pulitzer (1948; Göpel 781, private collection; see also cat. 29).[11] May's interactions with Beckmann when they lived in the same city (see fig. 32/4) and after the artist moved to New York deepened the businessman's commitment to the artist's oeuvre (he eventually amassed the world's largest private collection of Beckmann's work) and to modern German art in general. May's impact on the positive reception of Beckmann's art and that of his German contemporaries in the United States, as well as on reestablishing their reputations in post–World War II Germany, is discussed in the Introduction.

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 219–20.

Fig. 32/4. Morton D. May and Max Beckmann looking at the artist's portrait of May, 1949. Saint Louis Art Museum Archives.



Cat. 33

Portrait of Edie Rickey

1949
Oil on canvas; 23¾ x 15⅞ in. (60.3 x 40.3 cm)
Gift of George Rickey, in memory of Edie, 38:1996

In March 1949, just as he made the final payment on his purchase of the small canvas *Leda* (cat. 28), the artist George Rickey asked Max Beckmann to paint a portrait of his wife, Edith, or Edie (née Leighton; 1924–1995).[1] Beckmann replied, "I am very willing to do a portrait of her, as her face interests me very much."[2]

The artist's preparation for the portrait began on March 12, 1949, in St. Louis, the evening before the official portrait "sitting," at a dinner party at the home of Perry Rathbone, director of the City Art Museum.[3] Edie Rickey later recalled, "I was conscious of being gazed at [by Beckmann] with his intense and piercing eyes, but after the first few minutes, I completely forgot my self-consciousness."[4] In his studio the next day, Beckmann made three charcoal drawings of Rickey: in one she faces forward (fig. 33/1), and the other two show her in a three-quarter view (figs. 33/2–3). He devoted between one-half to three-quarters of an hour to each drawing, breaking briefly between each pose.[5] At the end of the session, Beckmann expressed satisfaction with the results but did not share them with the sitter. In advance of the session, Beckmann had requested informal snapshots as aides-mémoire.[6] Edie Rickey obliged, providing the artist with photographs from her recent honeymoon and a few others that show her posing at a variety of angles in front of a striped background (figs. 33/4–6). In them she wears the silver fish earrings that appear in the drawings and, in reduced form, in the painting. She later remembered that she had worn them to the Rathbones' dinner party but not to the studio sitting.[7]

The finished portrait most closely resembles the drawing in which Edie Rickey faces forward, but the asymmetry of her cheeks, ears, and earrings is exaggerated in the painting. Her hair appears as she wore it at the time—with bangs and gathered in a low chignon. Her prominent dark eyebrows and small but full lips can be seen in the snapshots, but in the painting Beckmann elongated her head considerably—her long nose, oval face, and simplified forms (such as her tubular neck) have often and rightly been compared to Amedeo Modigliani's stylized female portraits. Rickey's face nearly fills

Fig. 33/1. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Portrait of Edie Rickey"* (frontal view), 1949. Charcoal on paper; 46.7 x 31.8 cm. Collection of Philip Rickey and Mary Sullivan-Rickey.

Fig. 33/2. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Portrait of Edie Rickey"* (three-quarter view), 1949. Charcoal on paper; 47.6 x 32.4 cm. Collection of Stuart Rickey.

Fig. 33/3. Max Beckmann. *Portrait of Edie Rickey*, 1949. Charcoal on paper; 48.3 x 33 cm. Fort Wayne Museum of Art, Indiana, museum purchase with funds from the Lupke Foundation, 1987.02.

the small, insistently vertical canvas and casts her neck in deep shadow. Further variations in the painting from the drawings include a segmented black and red necklace and the intimation of a background: at the left is a wall or curtain; at the right, wispy blossoms or a flowered textile. Beckmann initially claimed to have painted the portrait in a single day, but his diary indicates that he returned to it (as he did with his other St. Louis portraits) many times over the month following the sitting.[8] Simultaneously working on the *Portrait of Fred Conway* (cat. 34), and frustrated with his progress on both canvases, the artist was driven to declare that he would become an abstract painter (implying that he would leave portraiture behind)—a wholly ironic statement in light of his long-held disdain for non-figurative art.[9]

The canvas is noticeably smaller than a typical portrait by the artist; cost may have been a factor here. Beckmann initially suggested a slightly smaller size—roughly 22 x 18 inches—for which he would charge $500, payable in installments.[10] Although Beckmann began work on the portrait in St. Louis, he finished it in New York.[11] The artist presented it to the Rickeys in his studio there, asking them to sit before dramatically turning the canvas to face them and inquiring in heavily accented English, as Edie Rickey transcribed it, "Is there anything you vant changed?"[12] The portrait debuted publicly almost immediately thereafter in an exhibition at Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery in October 1949.[13] The Rickeys hung it next to *Leda* in their various homes. In 1996, a year after his wife died, George Rickey gave the portrait to the Saint Louis Art Museum in her memory.

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 220.

Fig. 33/4–6. Edie Rickey, c. 1947/48. The George Rickey Estate, East Chatham, New York.

Cat. 34

Portrait of Fred Conway

1949
Oil on canvas; 25⅜ x 20⅜ in. (64.5 x 51.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 860:1983

Early in his tenure at the Washington University School of Fine Arts, Beckmann formed a close relationship with long-time instructor Fred Conway (1900–1973; fig. 34/1), a St. Louis native and beloved teacher known for his free spirit and good humor. "I like Fred Conway," Beckmann wrote of his Irish-American colleague in his diary.[1] Despite the language barrier, the two men spent a considerable amount of time together. Said Conway, "We talked just so much and then all we could do was laugh and drink."[2] Something of Conway's appealing, down-to-earth character can be discerned from a local newspaper article that appeared in May 1947. Interviewing the artist about the general public's negative views on modern art, the writer reported, "Every time some distinguished government official, pundit, scientist or ex-cowboy delivers himself of a weighty indictment of modern art [Conway] heads for the nearest bar and downs a few quick ones."[3]

The connection between the two artists was not merely social, however. Conway's studio was near Beckmann's, and they often commented on each other's work. An excellent colorist skilled in a wide array of techniques, Conway began to use encaustic in 1943.[4] Through a process of alternately applying layers of wax colors and glazes, he created paintings characterized by colorful and varied surfaces such as *Green Bird* (fig. 34/2).[5] Although Beckmann never worked in encaustic, he was familiar with the medium and praised Conway's handling of it, once comparing his art to that of Paul Klee.[6]

On May 16, 1949, Conway was invited to Beckmann's studio to see a half-length portrait of himself, which Beckmann continued to rework in the months to follow. In the painting's final state, a grayish wash underlies Conway's high cheekbones and tensed lips. His facial features are defined with black mixed with red and highlighted in orange, which lends the portrait an almost demonic quality, as do the wisps of hair that project, as if electrified, horizontally from both sides of his head. Conway was described by a contemporary as dressing "with artistic looseness";[7] not surprisingly,

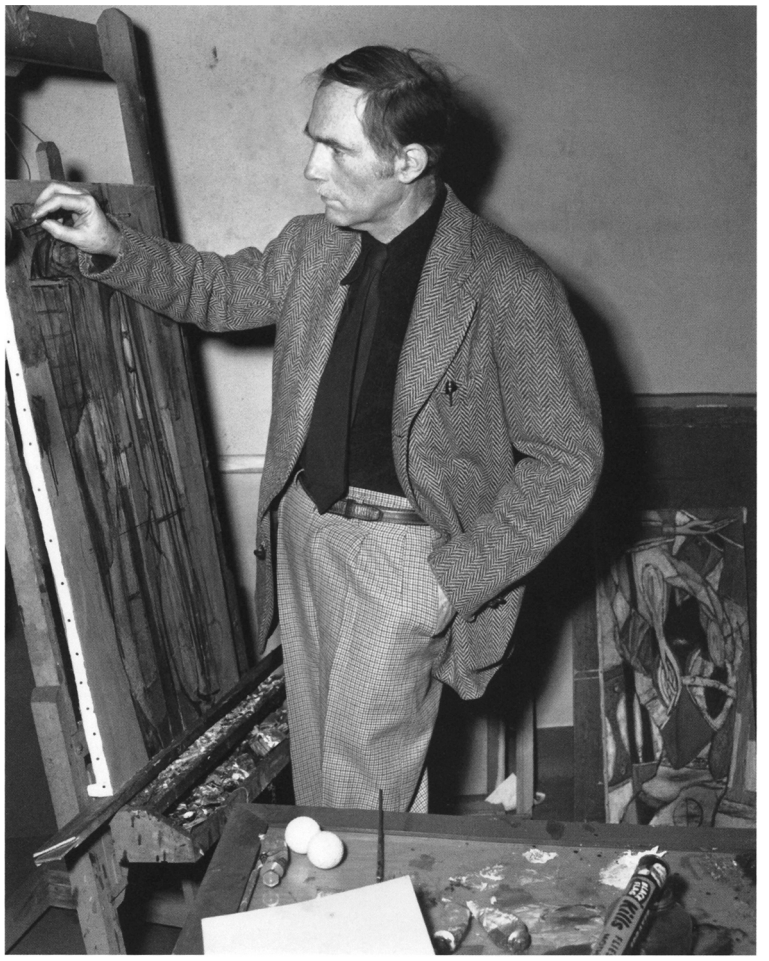


Fig. 34/1. Fred Conway in his studio, c. 1950. Department of Special Collections, University Archives, Washington University Libraries, St. Louis.

Fig. 34/2. Fred Conway (American; 1900–1973). *Green Bird*, 1946. Encaustic on fiberboard; 121.6 x 60.6 cm. Saint Louis Art Museum, Eliza McMillan Trust, 107:1946.

Beckmann used strong colors to depict his clothing—the jacket is bright aquamarine over black; the cravat is brilliant orange. The rounded back of a purple upholstered chair echoes the lines of the sitter's shoulders. Beckmann filled the remaining background with passages of bright blue over pink. At the right, a few quick strokes of black over the background imply the folds of a curtain.

A charcoal drawing, dated May 1949 (fig. 34/3), was apparently executed after Beckmann had begun work on the canvas. Its size (it is only slightly smaller than the oil) is close to that of other charcoal drawings by Beckmann at this moment (see fig. 32/1).[8] In the sketch, Conway holds a burning cigarette in much the same manner that Beckmann often portrayed himself smoking. Conway later mentioned that Beckmann made the sketch and then "he'd keep looking at me all the time."[9] In the painting, Beckmann eliminated Conway's hands and added a bottle where his right shoulder should be; barely noticeable at first glance, it bears illegible black writing. The sitter was pleased with the result, saying later of the portrait, "I hope the hell I looked like that, it was a beautiful painting."[10]

As was the case with his depictions of the French actress Valentine Tessier (cat. 13) and Ludwig Berger (cat. 23), a fellow émigré in Amsterdam, Beckmann was not asked by Conway to portray him. Beckmann had hoped that his friend Berger would purchase his portrait, and he may have had the same wish for Conway and his likeness. This is indicated by the fact that the canvas initially bore the sitter's full name. Beckmann painted it out and in the same area added his signature, likely before the portrait was exhibited at Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery, New York, in 1949.[11] Shortly afterward, the painting was purchased by Morton D. May, who also collected Conway's work.[12] Although Conway later expressed interest in acquiring it, the portrait remained in May's possession until his death.[13] After forty-six years on the faculty of Washington University, Conway retired in 1970. He remains best known for his public murals.[14]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 220–21.

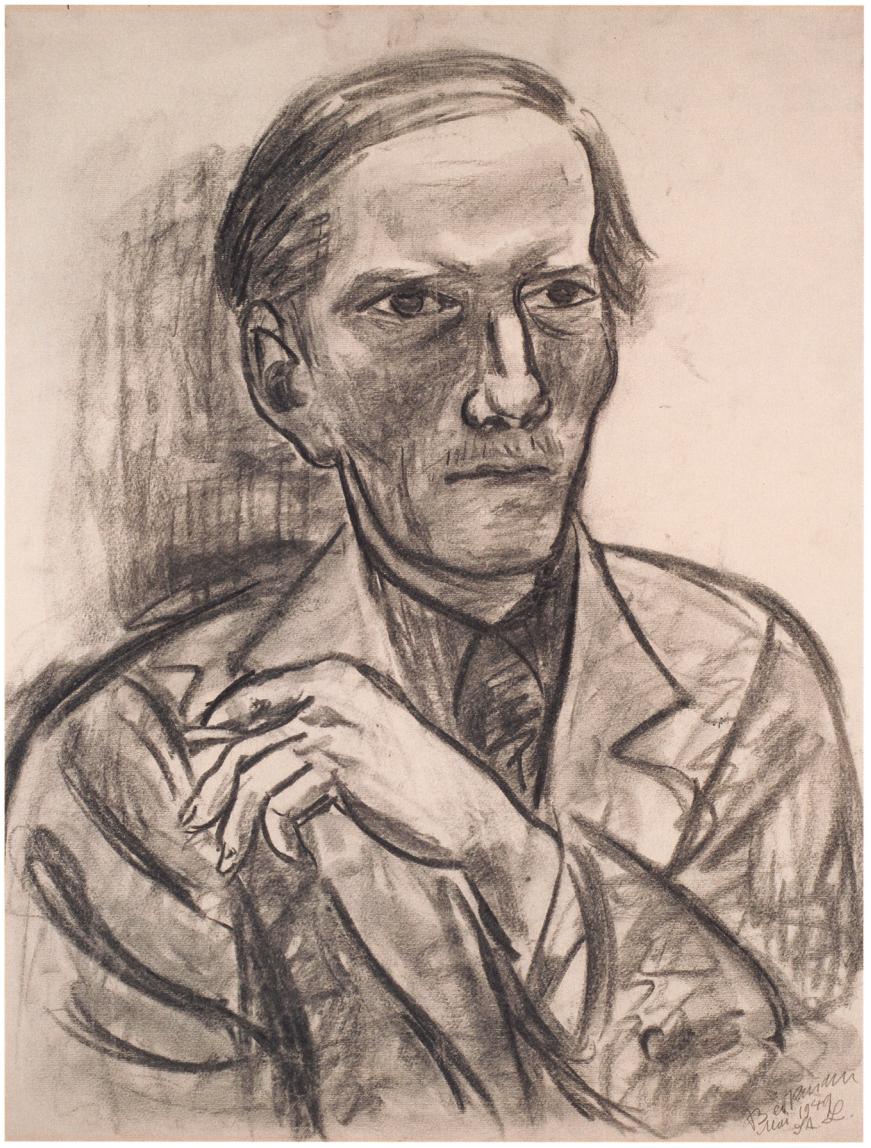


Fig. 34/3. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Portrait of Fred Conway,"* 1949. Charcoal on paper; 60.2 x 45.4 cm. Collection of Joan C. Crancer.

Documentation and Notes

Cats. 27–34

Cat. 27
Still Life with Two Large Candles, 1947

Oil on canvas; 43 x 31 in. (109.2 x 78.7 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 858:1983
Signed and dated, u.l.: *Beckmann / St. L. 47*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Frau vor dem Spiegel mit Orchideen* (Woman in front of Mirror with Orchids), *Still Life and Profile*, *Still Life with Orchid*, *Still Life with Orchids*, *Still Life with Profile*, *Stilleben mit Kerze und eine weiblichen Holzbüste* (Still Life with Candle and a Wooden Female Bust), *Stilleben mit Plastik und gestürzte Kerze* (Still Life with Sculpture and Fallen Candle), *Stilleben mit zwei Kerzen* (Still Life with Two Candles)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, u.l., on beige label, printed: *TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *Still Life with Orchids /* [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann (1947) /* [printed:] *MEDIUM* [typed:] *Oil 42¾ x 30¾ /* [printed:] *& SIZE / NO* [typed:] *9721* [printed:] *FOTO* [in red pencil:] *Q* [sideways]; u.l., on beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 EAST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK*; u.c., in black crayon: *1288*; u.c., black stamp: *31 / WARP-PROOF TREATED/ ANCO, Inc. / GLENDALE, L.I.*; l.c., black stamp: *43 / WARP-PROOF TREATED / ANCO, Inc. / GLENDALE,* [L.I.]; l.c., in white crayon: *CHASE*
On backing board, u.c., on taped label, typed*: 22 / Max Beckmann (1884–1950) / Frau vor dem Spiegel mit Orchideen, 1947*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint applied thinly and evenly with paste vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture visible throughout. Black paint generally matte; colors slightly glossy. Portions of ground visible. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1957 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 (PVA) varnish applied. In 1991 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, New York; sold (Buchholz Gallery [Curt Valentin], New York), by 1955, to William and Ruth Judith Chase, Chevy Chase, Md.; sold, Jan. 25, 1967, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1947 St. Louis / Amerika: 19) Stilleben mit 2 gr. Kerzen angef. 23 Okt; 8 Nov; 29.11; 11.12*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 626, p. 81, fig. 80 (as no. 619). Göpel 1976, no. 755, vol. 1, pp. vi, 33 (color ill.), 453, 536, 548, 554; vol. 2, p. 278 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1947: Oct. 23, Dec. 11, Mar. 29, 1948, Sept. 2, 1949; pp. 217, 225, 246, 335. Fischer 1972, pp. 62, 118. Fischer 1973, pp. 78, [79] (color ill.), 80–81. Lackner 1977, p. 108. Lackner 1983, pp. 78 (color ill.), 95. Spieler 1995, p. 151 (color ill.), 156. Westheider 1995, p. 112, n. 242. Selz 1996, pp. 76, 78, fig. 74 (color). Leipzig 2011–12, pp. 74 (color ill.), 308.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1949, cat. 8, n.pag., ill. Philadelphia 1950, cat. 281, n.pag. Beverly Hills, Calif. 1950 (no cat.)* Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 36, p. 8. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 22, pp. 10, 50 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 22, pp. 10, 50 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 22, pp. 10, 50 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 22, pp. 10, 50 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969 cat. 22, pp. 10, 50 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 31, pp. 20 (color ill.), 51. New York/ St. Louis 1970, cat. 42, pp. 15, 78 (color ill.). Fort Lauderdale 1983, cat. 26, n.pag., color ill. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 115, pp. 303 (color ill.), 467. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 50, pp. 168, 169 (color ill.), 233. St. Louis 2001 (no cat.). Frankfurt 2011–12, cat. 55, pp. 64–66, 140, 141 (color ill.).

NOTES
1. MB, "Speech Given to His First Class in the United States, Washington University, St. Louis," in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 310.
2. For more on the relationship between Beckmann's still lifes of this period and his pedagogy, see Roth 2011–12.
3. For an early example of such a reading, see Fischer 1973, pp. 80–81.
4. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Dec. 11, 1947, p. 225.
5. This array has been interpreted as representing the arts (sculpture, painting, music) in Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 168; Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 65, 140. Christian Lenz recently rejected this reading but did not offer an alternative. Lenz 2012, p. 60.
6. The first painting in which Beckmann included an extinguished candle is *The Night* (1918/19; Göpel 200). See Fischer 1973, p. 81.
7. Ibid., pp. 80–81. See also Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 168; Lenz 2012, pp. 60–61.
8. Fischer 1973, p. 80.
9. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Oct. 24, 1947, p. 217.
10. MB, diary, 1947: Oct. 10 (first meeting), 12, 16, 20, 24, 31, Nov. 8 (a day that, according to the picture list, included work on the still life), 9, 22, 25, 26, Dec. 10, Columbia University, New York.
11. Mary Rapp, interview with the author, Dec. 2008. See also Leipzig 2011–12, pp. 74–75. Beckmann composed *Still Life with Two Large Candles* and *The Valkyrie* (1948; Göpel 764) on Oct. 23 and saw the Rapps the next day. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Oct. 23–24, 1947, p. 217.
12. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 9, 1947, p. 220. "Kopf wirklich entzückend, (Irländerin) schwarz." The verso of the drawing contains another sketch of Rapp but lacks the dark coloring of her hair. See Leipzig 1998, no. 333 (where the subject's last name is spelled incorrectly as "Rapps"), pp. 170–71, 256.
13. Indeed, Beckmann saw *Woman in front of Mirror with Orchids* (*Frau vor dem Spiegel mit Orchideen*) (1946; Göpel 746) on exhibit in New York while he was working on the SLAM still life. For more on the relationship of these two canvases in their expression of Beckmann's belief that artists create order out of the chaos of nature and experience, see Roth 2011–12, pp. 64–68. The error in titles was made in the first post-war monograph on the artist (Reifenberg/ Hausenstein 1949). In fact, the editors may have accidentally switched the titles of the two canvases. No. 626 is called *Stilleben mit Zwei Kerzen*, but the painting now in St. Louis is illustrated erroneously under no. 619 as *Frau vor dem Spiegel mit Orchideen*, the 1946 painting mentioned above. Fischer noted the error in titles but followed Reifenberg/Hausenstein's illustration rather than his accurate catalogue reference and thus referred to the SLAM painting as *Frau vor dem Spiegel mit Orchideen*. Fischer suggested yet another title, *Stilleben mit Kerze und eine weiblichen Holzbüste* (Still Life with Candle and a Wooden Female Bust). He noted, incorrectly, that SLAM's painting was on the art market in New York in 1972. Fischer 1973, pp. 80, 94.
14. Although the painting was in Valentin's hands during Beckmann's lifetime (for Valentin's visit to Beckmann's studio and the artist's mention of seeing the work at Valentin's, see MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, pp. 246, 335), an undated list entitled "Paintings by Max Beckmann owned by Mrs. Beckmann" includes "Still Life with Orchids (9721)" (this title and inventory number also appear on the Buchholz Gallery label on the painting's stretcher), thus suggesting that the work was in the artist's estate after his death in 1950. Curt Valentin Papers, VII.A.1, Archives, MoMA.
15. The Göpels erroneously listed this painting as having been purchased by Francis Boyd, not William and Ruth Judith Chase. The fact that both the Boyds and Chases lived in Chevy Chase, Md., likely contributed to this confusion. An invoice could not be located for the purchase of this painting from Curt Valentin, but correspondence reveals that the Chases had an account with his gallery. In June 1955, the couple made payments to the gallery on a balance of $1,325. Ruth Judith Chase to Curt Valentin Gallery, June 9, 1955, Curt Valentin Papers, III.B.5, Archives, MoMA. Correspondence between Morton D. May and Ruth Judith Chase in 1967 suggests that the Chases also knew the Los Angeles collectors Sam and Mildred Jaffe (see cat. 17). May Archives, SLAM. It has not been possible to find the birth and death dates of the Chases.

Cat. 28
Leda, 1948

Oil on canvas; 16 x 20⅞ in. (40.6 x 53 cm)
Gift of George and Edith Rickey, 187:1993
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / 48*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher: u.l., in ink: *R86–285*; u.l., on masking tape, in graphite: *Rickey*; u.r., in red crayon: *FO* [upside down]; u.c., in black crayon: [illegible]; u.c., l.c., two identical black stamps: *21 WARP-PROOF-TREATED / ANCO, Inc. / GLENDALE, L.I.*; c.r., c.l., two identical black stamps: *16 WARP-PROOF-TREATED / ANCO, Inc. / GLENDALE, L.I.*; l.r., in red crayon: *4815* [upside down]
On frame: u.l., on yellowed label, typed: *MAX BECKMANN* [in black ink:] *R86–285 /* [typed:] *Leda. / 1948 / Oil on canvas. / 16 x 21". Signed and dated / Acq. 1948*; u.c., on label, printed: *max granick, inc. / frames / 52 west 56 st. / n.y.c. 10019*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and even with paste vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture throughout. Black paint generally matte; body colors slightly glossy. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1993 surface was cleaned to remove grime. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, 1948, to George W. and Edith Rickey, Allentown, Pa.; Bloomington, Ind.; East Chatham, N.Y.; given, 1993, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1947 St. Louis: 23) Leda 28.11;25.1.48;10.II George Rickey Altentown (Pen)*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 630, p. 81. Göpel 1976, no. 760, vol. 1, pp. 456–57, 477, 536, 543, 553; vol. 2, p. 278 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tägebucher* 1955, Nov. 30, 1947 (as *Ledabild*); 1948: Jan. 21–22, Feb. 10, Apr. 24; pp. 233, 237, 249–50. Lackner 1977, p. 38 (fig. 45). Billeter et al. 2008, p. 327 (color ill.). Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 210, fig. 117 (color).

EXHIBITIONS: New Orleans 1955 (no cat.). Troy, N.Y. 1959 (or 1960) (brochure).[10] Albany 1965, cat. 1, n.pag. Williamstown, Mass. 1968.* Roslyn Harbor, N.Y. 1984–85, n.pag., fig. 13 (color). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 52, pp. 33, 172, 173 (color ill.), 233.

NOTES

1. Beckmann returned to this subject in his 1950 *Girl with Mandolin in Yellow and Red* (Göpel 818), eventually replacing an initial depiction of the swan with a mandolin. See Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 172 (ill.); Billeter et al. 2008, pp. 322–31 (color ill.).
2. Karin van Maur read the forms at the far right of the composition as symbolizing the children conceived that night. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 172. The forms resemble the backs of horses, perhaps indicating the presence of a stall.
3. Nan Rosenthal, *George Rickey* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1977). Although Edith Rickey wrote in 1992 that her husband first encountered Beckmann's work at the "Degenerate Art" exhibition in Munich in 1937, this cannot be verified. See Edith Leighton Rickey, "The Berlin Years: 1967–1992: Introduction," in Jörn Merkat and Ursula Prinz, eds., *George Rickey in Berlin: 1867–1992* (Berlin: Berlinische Galerie: Museumspädagogischer Dienst/ARS Nicolai, 1992), p. 86. In a 1965 interview, Rickey did not mention having seen the exhibition and noted that the trip he took to Europe in 1949 was his first in about fourteen or fifteen years. George Rickey, interview, July 17, 1965, AAA, Washington, D.C.
4. Rickey stated that his serious work as a sculptor began in the fall of 1949, and yet he claimed, "I never actively turned my back on painting, I didn't give it up, it's just that these other activities became more and more important." Rickey interview (note 3).
5. George Rickey, interview, June 11, 1968, AAA, Washington, D.C. The artist's estate records list the painting as *Annunciation*, but in 1968 Rickey spoke about a series on Jacob and the Angel. "I was thinking a little bit of the angel as a bird. You know, the bird and the man and Leda and the Swan." Ibid. I would like to thank Philip Rickey, Maria C. Lizzi, and Mark Pollock of the Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y., for their assistance in identifying the painting.
6. MB to George Rickey, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Dec. 5, 1948, no. 892, p. 234.
7. Edith Rickey, "Remembering Max Beckmann," MS, 1984, Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y., copy, SLAM Archives.
8. Rickey was teaching at Muhlenberg College, Allentown, Pa., until 1948, when he enrolled at the Institute of Design, Chicago. A list entitled "Payments to Beckman [*sic*]" begins Apr. 14, 1948. Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y., copy, SLAM Archives. Beckmann wrote to Rickey in English on Apr. 15, 1948, thanking him for first check of $60 and promising that the painting would arrive "in the next days." MB to George Rickey, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, no. 859, p. 206. The Rickeys sent the final payment on Mar. 5, 1949. Rickey to MB, Mar. 5, 1949, MB Estate, Berlin.
9. Philip Rickey. "The Art Collection of My Parents, George and Edie Rickey: A Reminiscence by Philip Rickey." English draft for Hauswedell & Nolte, *Moderne Kunst des 19. und 20. Jahrhunderts mit Sammlung George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y.*, Auction 378 (Hamburg: June 10, 2004). Courtesy Philip Rickey.
10. According to Edie Rickey, *Leda* appeared in this exhibition. Edie Rickey to James Burke, Dec. 29, 1993, SLAM Archives. No related brochure was found in the Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y., or the Department of Architecture Archives at Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Albany, N.Y. (e-mail from Jennifer Monger, Folsom Library, RPI, to author, Aug. 5, 2014).

Cat. 29
Masquerade, 1948

Oil on canvas; 64 13/16 x 34 15/16 in. (164.6 x 88.7 cm)
Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Joseph Pulitzer Jr., 587:1958
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / St L 48*[16]

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Maskerade* (Masquerade)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On strainer, u.l., on beige label, printed: *Curt Valentin 32 East 57th Street, New York* [in green ink:] *53 /* [printed:] *TITLE & DATE* [typed:] *Masquerade 1948 / ARTIST /* [typed:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *MEDIUM & SIZE / Oil 65 x 34½* [in graphite:] *CV /* [printed:] NO. [in red graphite:] *10706 54;* u.l., on white label, printed: *CATHERINE VIVIANO GALLERY / 42 east 57 street new york 22, N.Y. / Artist* [in blue ink:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *Title* [in blue ink:]: *Masquerade /* [printed:] *No.* [in blue ink:] *Date 1948* [printed:] *Size* [in blue ink:] *65 x 34½;* u.c., in white chalk: *1774–19*; u.c., in graphite: *ch*; u.r., in graphite: *E7942*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Lightweight cotton. Unlined. Attached to lightweight, handmade strainer. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Possibly oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint applied thinly and evenly with paste vehicular consistency. Dry brush texture and layering visible throughout. Over this are transparent, matte washes that constitute contour lines, and other colors. Several areas of sketchy, glossy black lines are noticeable over broader contour lines, especially in the man's face and in the green background color. Some localized cracking, which in 1983 was consolidated from the reverse with microcrystalline wax. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1983 surface was cleaned to remove grime, some cracks inpainted, and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. In 1985 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, New York; sold (Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York), Jan. 17, 1957, to Louise Vauclain Pulitzer and Joseph Pulitzer Jr., St. Louis; given, Dec. 16, 1958, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1948. St. Louis: 2) Masquerade 8.II; 13.II; 10.III; 28.IV; 1.5; 4.5;* [possibly "7"].*5; 14.5*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 634, p. 81. Göpel 1976, no. 765, vol. 1, pp. 459–60, 536, 543, 554; vol. 2, p. 280 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1948: May 1, 3, 11, 14; pp. 251–53. Chetham 1958, no. 83, pp. 189–91, n.pag., fig. 97. Fischer 1972, pp. 31, 219. St. Louis *Handbook* 1975, p. 198 (ill.). Lackner 1983, pp. 79 (color ill.), 95. Haxthausen 1985, p. 1. Schulz-Hoffmann 1991, p. 159, n.pag., fig. 78. Kienle 2008, p. 67 (fig. 14 [color]). Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 110, 112 (fig. 88 [color]).

EXHIBITIONS: Minneapolis 1950a cat. 4, n.pag. New York 1955, cat. 20, n.pag. St. Louis 1968a, cat. 5, n.pag. St. Louis 1968b (no cat.)* St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 117, pp. 44, 67, 162, 305 (color ill.), 306, 469. Cambridge, Mass./St. Louis 1988 (not in cat.) (St. Louis only). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 55, pp. 178, 179 (color ill.), 233. St. Louis 2001 (no cat.). Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 321 (color ill.), 403. London/New York 2003, cat. 161, pp. 254 (color ill.), 258.

NOTES

1. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 14–15, 1948, p. 253.
2. Rathbone 1964–65, p. 4.
3. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 15, 1948, p. 253.
4. The Beaux-Arts Ball took place, according to the artist's diary, on May 21. MB, ibid., p. 254. Quappi Beckmann noted on the collage (erroneously dating it, perhaps retroactively, to Feb. 1948) that she did not go to the Beaux-Arts Ball because of her mother's death. In his diary, Beckmann mentioned having worn to the event a "black half-mask" (*schwarze Halbmaske*) and referred to himself as "Jupiter in a tailcoat" (*Jupiter im Frack*). MB, ibid., May 21–22, 1948, pp. 254–55. In a draft of his text for a publication on the Pulitzer collection, Charles Chetham correctly challenged previous claims (he did not specify where he found them) that the Washington University School of Fine Arts' Primitive Arts Ball inspired the canvas, since it had taken place a full year earlier, in May 1947. Chetham to MQB, May 9, 1958, p. 2, MB Archive, Munich. However, this point is not mentioned in Chetham 1958.
5. Rathbone 1964–65, p. 4.
6. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 305.
7. Zimmermann 1967, p. 17, n. 5. A *Pritsche* appears in other works by the artist. See for example the center panel of the triptych *Carnival* (1942–43; Göpel 649).
8. Fischer 1972, p. 219, n. 830. After noting Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer's interpretation of the shape as a "bag of bones," Karin von Maur suggested dance shoes. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 178. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann read it as a "kerchief." St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 305.
9. Maur saw the figure as moving between the two gods (good and evil). Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 178. Fischer suggested only Bastet and framed her as a "goddess of death" (*Todesgöttin*), a negative interpretation of the figure that Maur questioned (see also cat. 38). Fischer

(note 8). Referring to the symbolism as "ambiguous," Schulz-Hoffmann offered numerous suggestions related to Buddhist, cabalistic, and Native American traditions. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 306. Fischer read the arrow (*Todespfeil*) in this and other paintings (see cat. 38) as pointing to the afterlife. Fischer 1972, p. 219.
10. Chetham 1958, p. 191; Kienle 2008, pp. 81–82. Comparing *Masquerade* to earlier, similarly themed works by Beckmann, Anabelle Kienle downplayed its ominous qualities. She argued instead that the painting represents a search for artistic identity, one perhaps prompted by Beckmann's renewed role as a teacher.
11. Before settling on the title *Masquerade*, the artist also recorded what appear to be several, now illegible, titles in his picture list.
12. On May 7, while Beckmann was still at work on the canvas, Quappi Beckmann received news that her mother had died about eight days before. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 252. Beckmann noted in his diary that, as a result, his wife did not attend Barker's party. Ibid., May 15, 1948, p. 253.
13. Although the date of Pulitzer's purchase is mentioned in Chetham 1958, p. 190, and in the original accession record (departmental files, SLAM) as Nov. 1956, the invoice from the Catherine Viviano Gallery is dated Jan. 8, 1957, with payment noted as received on Jan. 17, 1957. Copy, departmental files, SLAM.
14. Joseph Pulitzer Jr., interview with Walter Barker, May 3, 1970, p. 3, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
15. Correspondence between Quappi Beckmann, Joseph Pulitzer Jr., and Catherine Viviano, 1959, Catherine Viviano Gallery Records, AAA, Washington, D.C. For a thorough account of Pulitzer's collecting and his impact on the art and criticism of his day, see Marjorie B. Cohn, *Classic Modern: The Art Worlds of Joseph Pulitzer Jr.* (Cambridge, Mass./New Haven: Harvard Art Museums/Yale University Press, 2012).
16. Beckmann originally signed and dated the painting in pencil (see Chetham 1958, p. 189) or ink (see Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 459) in the lower right-hand corner. While the impression of that signature still exists in the unbroken paint surface, the medium the artist used to sign the canvas is no longer present, perhaps removed accidentally during a cleaning. According to the initial accession record, the signature was visible at the time of the work's acquisition in 1958. Departmental files, SLAM. In St. Louis 1968a, n.pag., it is listed as "signed and dated lower right: Beckmann St. L. 48."

Cat. 30
Large Picture of Women. Fisherwomen, 1948

Oil on canvas; 75⅛ x 55⅛ in. (190.8 x 140 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 859:1983
Not signed or dated

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Die Fischerinnen* (*The Fisherwomen*), *Fischerinnen* (*Fisherwomen*)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas, u.c., in white chalk: *67–36¾* [upside down]
On stretcher, u.l., in black crayon: [illegible]*68–2*; u.l., on white label, in ink: *E6873.2*; u.l., on tape, in graphite: *Box 4–B*; u.l., on white label with red border, in graphite: *535* [illegible]*9 / 1*[directly beneath line]; u.c., in black crayon: *#2–S76*; u.c., in graphite: *BX–P–15*; u.r., in graphite: *35¾ / 10*; u.r., in graphite: *64.389*; u.r., on masking tape, in graphite: *2– / 5 70* ["70" encircled]; c.l., on tape, in graphite: *P1514*; c.r., in graphite: *57 / 3¼ / 88¼ / 72 / 16½*; c.r., in black crayon: *BOX # 11* [upside down]; l.l., in graphite: *55*; l.l., in graphite: *81*; l.r., in black crayon: *1354 # 11*[illegible]
On backing board, u.l., on white label, in green ink: *66 Fischerinnen. 1948*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, coarse-weave linen. Unlined. Original Anco Bilt wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint application thin and even with paste vehicular consistency. Moderate dry brush texture visible throughout. Over this are transparent washes of black comprising contour lines and other colors. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Some localized cracking. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1958 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite A-70 PVA applied. In 1985 varnish was removed and Acryloid B-72 applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Dec. 1948, Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), New York; sold, June 6, 1949, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *Amsterdam Sommer 1948: 9) Grosses Frauenbild. Fischerinnen. Begonnen 25. Juni, beendet 15. Juli. Valentin. Now Buster May St. Louis*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 641, p. 81. Göpel 1976, cat. 777, vol. 1, pp. vi, 31, 468–69, 537, 541, 554, 610 (color det.); vol. 2, p. 286 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Janson 1951, p. 90 (ill.). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1948: June 25, 26, 27, 28, July 4, 5, 6, 8, 12, 14, 15, 28, Aug. 8, 13, 14, 15, Nov. 29, Dec. 3, 4, 5; 1949: Feb. 18, May 27, 28, June 11, 13; June 3, 1950; pp. 260–63, 265, 267–68, 288–89, 303, 318, 321, 376. Kessler 1970, pp. 20, [138] (fig. 28). Fischer 1972, pp. 189, 192, betw. 192 and 193 (pl. 11 [color]). Gäßler 1974, p. 6. Lackner 1977, p. 47. Lackner 1983, p. 93. Schulz-Hoffmann 1991, n.pag., fig. 77, 160. Spieler 1995, pp. 178, 179 (color ill.), 199. Selz 1996, pp. 85, 86, fig. 79 (color), 115. Eckmann 2002, p. 40, fig. 30. London/New York 2003, p. 283. Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 71. Kienle 2008, pp. 87–88, 89, (fig. 20 [color]), 91–92. Leipzig 2011–12, pp. 74, 308, 314.

EXHIBITIONS: Pittsburgh 1949, cat. 43, n.pag., pl. 1. Chicago 1951, cat. 36, n.pag.[27] St. Louis 1952, cat. 4, p. 9 (ill.). St. Louis 1953 (no cat.). Minneapolis et al. 1956–57, n.pag., ill. Manhattan, Kans. 1957 (no cat.).* St. Louis 1960, cat. 76, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 84, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 81, n.pag., ill. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 70, pp. 92, 93 (color ill.), 151; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 66, n.pag., fig. 6 (color); London 1965, cat. 69, pp. 15 (color ill.), 30. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 39, p. 8. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 99, pp. 48–49, n.pag., ill.; Munich 1968–69, cat. 94, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 99, pp. 48–49, n.pag. (ill.). Bremen 1969b, cat. E12, n.pag., ill.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 36, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 45, pp. 16, 81 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 121, pp. 50, 67, 163–64, 274, 278, 308, 309 (color ill.), 310, 322–23, 469, 471. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 28, 29 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 56, pp. 29, 180, 181 (color ill.), 233. Hamburg 2003–4, cat. 33, pp. 20, 84, 85 (color ill.), 164. St. Louis 2007–8, n.pag. ill. Frankfurt 2011–12, cat. 65, pp. 156, 160, 161 (color ill.), 162.

NOTES
1. The response to *Fisherwomen* was largely positive. An *Art Digest* writer called it a "vigorous, completely sustained canvas" and declared that it deserved to win. *Art Digest* 24 (Oct. 15, 1949), p. 7.
2. Grafly 1949, p. 72.
3. Homer Saint-Gaudens, "As to Our Jury and Their Prizes," *Carnegie Magazine* (Nov. 1949), p. 117.
4. On Beckmann's use of black ground in this canvas, see Fischer 1972, p. 189.
5. For various discussions of the color effects, see also ibid.; Haxthausen 1985, p. 29; Schulz-Hoffmann 1991, p. 160; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 180.
6. Beckmann appears to have added the fish after beginning work on the canvas. On a bike ride in Amsterdam the day after he started the painting, he thought about the work and asked himself, "Perhaps Dutch [women]? Fish?" (*vielleicht holländische? Fische?*). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, June 26, 1948, p. 261. By June 27, he was calling it *Fischerinnen* (Fisherwomen). Ibid., June 27, 1948, p. 261.
7. "Made in U.S.A.," *Time* (Oct. 24, 1949).
8. For example, Horst W. Janson referred to them as a "primeval symbol of male creative force and spirituality." Janson 1951, p. 90. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann called them "male sexual symbols." St. Louis 1984–85, p. 310. For an extensive treatment of fish symbolism in Beckmann's oeuvre, see Fischer 1972, pp. 122–30.
9. William Valentiner, in Erffa et al. 1962, p. 85.
10. "Made in U.S.A" (note 7).
11. The drawing is also a reprise of the artist's demonic canvas *Children of the Twilight* (1939; Göpel 526), in which fish explicitly represent human souls. See Fischer 1972, pp. 127–30.
12. The painting has frequently been compared to the bordello scene entitled *Girl's Room (Siesta)* (1949; Göpel 739). See for example Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 180; Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 160.
13. Quappi Beckmann, interview with Peter Selz, in New York 1964–65, p. 92. See also St. Louis 1984–85, p. 310; Haxthausen 1985, p. 28. Jutta Schütt described the figure as essentially contradictory, for she appears at once "innocent as a bride" and sexually suggestive. Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 160. Beckmann told his private student Mary Rapp (see intro. to this chap. and cat. 27) that he had given her features to the figure at the left. E-mail from Rapp to author, Aug. 4, 2008.
14. Beckmann, cited in "Made in U.S.A." (note 7).
15. Ibid. Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer discussed Beckmann's use in numerous works of fish to represent the soul (see also note 11). He said that Beckmann found this notion in Indian, gnostic, and theosophical teachings. Fischer 1972, pp. 123–24.
16. The Beckmanns entered the U.S. in 1947 on a visitor's visa that expired in June of the following year. They considered obtaining an extension by going to Mexico or Cuba, but in the end chose to return to the Netherlands to do it. Kenneth Holland to Clark Stillman, Apr. 29, 1948, Research Collections, University Archives, Washington University Libraries, St. Louis.
17. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, June 25, 1948, p. 261. Beckmann started several works in Amsterdam and also returned to earlier ones, such as *Two Women by the Stairs* (1942–48; Göpel 771), which Morton D. May owned at one time.
18. Ibid., June 26, 1948, p. 261.
19. A number of such accounts were not included in MB, *Tagebücher* 1955. But entries for June 18, 24, and July 2, 1948, appear in one of the artist's unpublished diaries at Columbia University, New York.

20. See Hamburg 2003–4, p. 84. Fischer dated SLAM's drawing to 1948 or 1949, which is not correct, since it entered the museum in 1946. Fischer 1972, p. 128.
21. Beckmann/Gohr 2006, pp. 284–85.
22. In a portion of the diary dated Aug. 14, 1948, which was omitted from MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Beckmann (who was still working on the canvas) mentioned offering the painting to Valentin. MB, diary, Aug. 14, 1948, Columbia University, New York. The next day, Valentin called Beckmann from Brussels, having, as the artist put it, "dreamt of the Fisherwomen [*er träumte von den Fischerinnen*]." MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 15, 1948, p. 268. In his picture list, Beckmann wrote Valentin's name next to the title of the painting. In another unpublished diary entry, Beckmann noted that Valentin offered him $1,200 for the work, to be paid in installments. See MB, diary, Sept. 24, 1948, Columbia University, New York. In his income list, under the heading "St. Louis 1948," Beckmann recorded selling the painting to the dealer for that price. MB, income list (Notebook 2, MB Estate, Berlin).
23. On Nov. 29, 1948, Beckmann noted in his diary that the canvas had arrived. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 288. Other than repositioning the arm of the figure at the right, few compositional changes can be seen in the X-ray.
24. Homer Saint-Gaudens to MB, Oct. 12, 1949, Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh.
25. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, June 13, 1949, p. 321. According to his records, May once considered trading *Fisherwomen*, namely, for one of Beckmann's triptychs, the 1936/37 *Temptation* (Göpel 439), which was then in the collection of Stephan Lackner. The exchange never took place. May purchased the *Acrobats* triptych (cat. 19) in December of that year. MDM to SL, Sept. 22, 1955, May Archives, SLAM.
26. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, June 13, 1949, p. 321.
27. May's copy of the catalogue for Chicago 1951, an exhibition of his collection, includes a handwritten mention of *Large Picture of Women. Fisherwomen.* May Archives, SLAM.

Cat. 31
Still Life with Chianti Bottle and Celery, 1949

Oil on canvas; 20 1/16 x 25 1/4 in. (51 x 64.1 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 862:1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / St. L. 49*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Still Life with Celery and Chianti Flask*, *Still Life with Wine Flask and Celery*, *Stilleben mit Rotweinflasche* (Still Life with Red Wine Bottle), *Stilleben mit Staudensellerie und Weinflasche* (Still Life with Celery and Wine Bottle)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, c.r., in black crayon: *#10584* [sideways]
On frame, u.l., on torn label, typed: [. . .]*TH WINE FLASK* / [Beck]*mann*; u.l., on tape, in blue crayon: *K–14*; u.c., on tape, in graphite: *12*; u.r., on tape, in ink, u.r.: *10 / 5*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1959 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using microcrystalline wax adhesive and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and even with paste vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture throughout. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Colors slightly glossy. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1959 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 2010 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, May 27, 1949, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *St. Louis 1949: 9) Stilleben mit Chiantifl. u. Sellerie; 3.4; Buster May St. Louis (M.O)*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 659, p. 82. Göpel 1976, no. 784, vol. 1, pp. 474, 537, 548, 554; vol. 2, no. 289 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 10, 1948, p. 285.

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago 1951, cat. 33, n.pag. St. Louis 1952, cat. 5, pp. 7 (ill.), 9. Milwaukee 1954–55, cat. 6, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 84, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 90, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 89, n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 45, p. 10. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 27, pp. 11, 55 (ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 27, pp. 11, 55 (ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 27, pp. 11, 55 (ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 27, pp. 11, 55 (ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 27, pp. 11, 55 (ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 39, pp. 22 (ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 50, pp. 17, 86 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 57, pp. 182, 183 (color ill.), 186, 233.

NOTES
1. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, pp. 547–48. The Göpels designated 138 works as both still lifes and interiors. In this they followed Beckmann's lead, since he often considered these genres to be one and the same (see cat. 35).
2. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 182.
3. Beckmann was in New Orleans from Apr. 1–5, 1949. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 474.
4. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 10, 1948, p. 285.
5. According to May's object record, the painting was "purchased directly from the artist, May 31, 1949." May Archives, SLAM. May later remembered this as one of the few paintings he purchased directly from the artist. MDM, interview with Walter Barker, July 5, 1970, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine. An income list for "Saint Louis 1949" in Beckmann's picture list records a sale to May of two canvases on May 27, 1949, a "green still life" (*grünes Stilleben*; the present painting) and "woman at night" (*Frau bei Nacht*) (1949; Göpel 787) for $900. Although May offered to buy the paintings on May 27, the actual sale may have taken place on May 31. See MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 27, 1949, p. 318.
6. MDM to SL, Sept. 22, 1955. May Archives, SLAM. "I have seven paintings from 1949 but . . . three of them are still lifes and are the only Beckmanns which Mrs. May will allow to hang in our home." In a 1966 article for the *Chicago Tribune*, the actor Vincent Price, a childhood friend of May's (and a noted art collector in his own right), also mentioned this: "Buster's wife, Marge [also called Margie], was not about to have a house with wall-to-wall pictures. . . . Marge was right, for German expressionism can be pretty overpowering en masse, and one or two more comfortable ones were enough in her beautiful and tastefully modern home." Price, "Buster plus Beckmann: Magnificence!," *Chicago Tribune*, Dec. 11, 1966, sec. 5, p. 2.
7. Grace Glueck, "Morton D. May Shows His German Art," *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1970. I would like to thank David Conradsen and Genny Cortinovis for alerting me to family photographs of the May home at 12 Brentmoor Park. Photographs from the 1970s show Beckmann's *Genoa* prominently displayed on a wood-paneled wall of the Mays' living room.

Cat. 32
Portrait of Morton D. May, 1949

Oil on canvas; 30 x 20 in. (76.2 x 50.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 861:1983
Signed and dated, u.l.: *Beckmann / 49 St. L*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Morton D. May*, *Portrait Morton May*, *Portrait of M. D. May, Portrait of Mr. Morton D. May*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On frame, u.l., on masking tape, in blue crayon: *K9*; u.l., in black crayon: *#958*[or "0"]*3*; u.l., on masking tape, in blue ink: *912*; u.l., on torn, discolored label, typed: - - *Beckmann*; u.l., in graphite: *14B*; u.r., c.r., in red crayon: *K1*
On stretcher, u.l. in graphite: *E7883.6*; u.c., l.c., two identical black stamps: *20 / THE / LITTLE GALLERY / EAST NEWARK, N.J.*; c.l., c.r., two identical black stamps: *30 / THE / LITTLE GALLERY / EAST NEWARK, N.J.*; l.l., in graphite: *May* [sideways]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Original Anco Bilt wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and even with paste vehicular consistency. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Some unpainted ground visible. **Surface coating:** Unvarnished.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned, 1949, by Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *St. Louis 1949: 7) Portrait Morton May; 14.4 beend.; Bes. Buster Morton May St. Louis*[12]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 785, vol. 1, pp. 31, 474–75, 537, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 289 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1949: Mar. 22–23, 25, 28, Apr. 7–9, 11, 13, 15, May 18, June 13; pp. 307–8, 311–12, 317, 321. Lackner 1977, pp. 38–39, [41] (fig. 49), 158. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 470 (fig. 64). Rathbone 1995, p. 51 (ill.). Spieler 1995, pp. 171, 174, 175 (color ill.). Kienle 2008, p. 107 (fig. 58 [color]). Leipzig 2011–12, p. 292.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1949, cat. 18, n.pag., ill. Chicago 1951, cat. 35, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). New York 1957–58, cat. 88, n.pag. St. Louis 1960, cat. 83, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 89, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 88, n.pag. Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 63, n.pag., ill. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 44, p. 10 (ill.). Bielefeld 1968, cat. 26, pp. 11, 54 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 24, pp. 10–11, 54 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 24, pp. 10–11, 54 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 26, pp. 11, 54 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 26, pp. 11, 54 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 38, pp. 5 (ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 49, pp. 17, 85 (color ill.). Fort Lauderdale 1983, cat. 30, n.pag., color ill. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 58, pp. 31, 184, 185 (color ill.), 233.

RELATED WORKS: Figs. 32/1–3

NOTES

1. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Mar. 25, 1949, p. 308. On this day, Beckmann visited May's "kingdom" (*Königreich*), as he called it in his diary, for the first time.
2. MDM, cited in "Rough Stuff in the Library," *Time* (Mar. 14, 1960), p. 80. This article appeared on the occasion of an exhibition at Saint Louis University of one hundred eleven works from May's collection, including forty-eight by Beckmann. May's recollection that he and Beckmann spent two weeks becoming acquainted contradicts the artist's diary. Beckmann recorded his first visit to the May home on Mar. 25 and the first sketching session (in the studio) followed by a visit to May's home and that of his father on Mar. 28. MB *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 308. On Apr. 7, another session took place at May's home. Ibid., p. 311. On May and his collection on the occasion of a New York showing (New York/St. Louis 1970) of about seventy of the paintings he owned, see Grace Glueck, "Morton D. May Shows His German Art," *New York Times*, Jan. 17, 1970.
3. May experienced partial paralysis in the spring of 1945, a few months before he was released from the navy. During his lifetime, May and his doctors believed he suffered from spinocerebellar degenerative disease. Postmortem examination determined that he actually had multiple sclerosis. May Archives, SLAM.
4. May, cited in Glueck (note 2). On his first meeting with May, on Mar. 25, 1949, Beckmann referred to him as "a little tragic" (*ein bisschen tragisch*). MB, diary, Columbia University, New York.
5. Beckmann wrote about hearing many divorce stories from May during their second meeting, on Mar. 28, 1949. MB, diary, Columbia University, New York. May married Katherine Arnstein in 1937. The couple divorced in January 1949. May Archives, SLAM. May married Margie Wolcott Gerow the following year.
6. MDM, interview with Walter Barker, July 5, 1970, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
7. MB, diary, Mar. 25, 1949, Columbia University, New York. May claimed that two sketches were made at each of the two sittings, but only three (figs. 32/1–3) have been located. MDM, interview with Barker (note 6).
8. For more on May's career, see "M. D. May's Conservativism Has Aggressive Overtones," *Women's Wear Daily*, Nov. 28, 1958, which includes a photograph of May in front of the May Company's first suburban store, in Clayton, Mo. May was the store's general manager. The building, designed by Samuel Marx—a Chicago-based modernist architect who was married to May's aunt (see Intro.)—opened in Oct. 1948.
9. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Apr. 8, 1949, p. 311.
10. Ibid., Apr. 15, 1949, p. 312. May's accession record notes that he paid for the portrait on Apr. 7 (see note 2). May Archives, SLAM. May paid $1,000 for his portrait (a gift from May's father for his birthday, Mar. 25) and between $400 and $500 for other works by Beckmann at this time. MDM interview with Barker (note 6).
11. New York 1949.
12. Although Beckmann titled the painting "Portrait Morton May" in his picture list, "of" has been added to the official SLAM title for stylistic consistency, and May's middle initial ("D.") has been included for consistency with how May was publicly referred to during his lifetime.

Cat. 33
Portrait of Edie Rickey, 1949

Oil on canvas; 23¾ x 15⅞ in. (60.3 x 40.3 cm)
Gift of George Rickey, in memory of Edie, 38:1996
Signed and dated, u.r.: *Beckmann* / St. Louis *49*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Bildnis Edith Rickey* (Portrait Edith Rickey), *Portrait of Edie*, *Portrait of Edith*, *Porträt Miss Rikey* [*sic*] (Portrait Miss Rikey)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On frame, u.l., on browned circular sticker, in ink: *E / 5665 / 1*; u.r., in black marker: *B 6008*; c.l., in black marker: *1* [encircled]; c.r., in black marker: *CB*[illegible]; c.r., in white chalk: [illegible]*394–1* [sideways]
On stretcher, u.l., on beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 EAST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK / TITLE YEAR* [typed:] *Portrait of Edith. 1949* / [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann* / [printed:] *MEDIUM & SIZE* [typed:] *Oil 23¾ x 15½"* / [printed:] *NO.* [typed:] *11302*; u.c., on yellowed label, typed: *MAX BECKMANN* [in ink:] *R86–286* / [typed:] *Portrait of Edie. / 1949. / Oil on canvas. / 23¾ x 15⅞". / Acq: 1949, artist.*; c.r., in white chalk: *I* [illegible] [sideways]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Mounted onto an original Anco Bilt wood key stretcher. Original oak frame with whitewash finish. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and even with paste vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Colors slightly glossy. In 1996 accretions and edge abrasion were inpainted. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1996 surface was cleaned to remove grime. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Commissioned, 1949, by George and Edith Rickey, Allentown, Pa.; Bloomington, Ind.; East Chatham, N.Y.; given, 1996, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *St. Louis 1949: 8) Portrait Mrs. Rikey am 17 April Ostersonntag; 8.5; 9.5; Bes. Mr. Rikey Chicago*[14]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 658, p. 82. Göpel 1976, no. 788, vol. 1, pp. 476–77, 537, 541, 553; vol. 2, p. 289 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1949: Mar. 13, Apr. 17, May 9–12, 14–15, Sept. 15; pp. 306, 312, 316–17, 338. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 470. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 31. Kienle 2008, pp. 101–2, 103 (fig. 50 [color]).

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1949, cat. 19, n.pag. New Orleans 1955 (no cat.). Albany 1965, cover, cat. 2, n.pag. Williamstown, Mass. 1968.* Roslyn Harbor, N.Y., 1984–85, n.pag., fig. 16 (color).

RELATED WORKS: Figs. 33/1–3

NOTES

1. George Rickey to MB, Mar. 5, 1949, MB Estate, Berlin. The idea for the portrait was discussed even earlier. See MB to George Rickey, in MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Dec. 5, 1948, no. 892, p. 234.
2. MB to George Rickey, in MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Mar. 7, 1949, no. 907, p. 246. Beckmann was familiar with Edie Rickey's appearance because the couple had visited the artist in St. Louis in Nov. 1948.
3. Edie Rickey, "Remembering Max Beckmann," MS, 1984, p. 2. Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y., copy, SLAM Archives. Beckmann noted seeing the Rickeys at the Rathbones' home on Mar. 12 and mentioned the sitting at the studio the following day. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 306.
4. Rickey (note 3), p. 2.
5. The drawings remained in Beckmann's possession until his death. In 1951 his widow offered them to the Rickeys, who were able to purchase two of the three over time. MQB to Edie Rickey, Mar. 14, 1951. Estate of George Rickey, East Chatham, N.Y., copy, SLAM Archives. See also Edith Rickey to Catherine Viviano, May 3, Oct. 17, 1962, and Mar. 14, 1963, Catherine Viviano Gallery Records, AAA, Washington, D.C.
6. MB to George Rickey (note 2). In her later account (note 3), p. 3, Rickey said that Beckmann asked for the photos after the sitting, but the artist's letter proves otherwise.
7. Rickey (note 3), p. 2.
8. Beckmann's first mention of the painting, on Apr. 17, 1949, implies that he completed it in one day, but further entries reveal that he continued to work on it in May, beyond the dates noted in his picture list. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 9–15, 1949, pp. 316–17.
9. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 11, 1949, p. 316.
10. MB to George Rickey (note 2).
11. The Rickeys traveled in Europe that summer, and so the sale actually took place on Sept. 15, 1949, in New York upon their return. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, p. 338. Anabelle Kienle erroneously dated the canvas to 1948. Kienle 2008, p. 103.
12. Rickey (note 3), p. 4.
13. New York 1949.
14. Although Beckmann titled the painting *Portrait Mrs. Rikey* [*sic*] in his picture list, the sitter's full name has been included here for clarity and consistency with the credit line her husband requested when he donated the work to SLAM.

Cat. 34
Portrait of Fred Conway, 1949

Oil on canvas; 25⅜ x 20⅜ in. (64.5 x 51.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 860:1983
Signed and dated, u.r.: *Beckmann St L / 49*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Bildnis Fred Conway* (Portrait Fred Conway), *Fred Conway*, *Porträt Fred Conway* (Portrait Fred Conway), *Portrait of the Late Fred Conway*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, u.l., on red-striped label, in red ink: *E 7883,5*; u.c., on masking tape, in blue crayon: *k14*; l.c., on masking tape, in graphite: *MAX BECKMANN REMOVED FRAME* [illegible, possibly "DALD"]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1959 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory 155 microcrystalline wax adhesive and mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Application thin and even, with paste vehicular consistency. Brush texture and canvas weave throughout. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Thin black washes over opaque colors. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1959 surface was cleaned to remove

grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 1992 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold (Buchholz Gallery [Curt Valentin], New York), July 5, 1950, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *St. Louis 1949: 4) Portrait of Conway. 5.2; 7.3; 8.5; 10.5; May*[15]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Reifenberg/Hausenstein 1949, no. 657, p. 82. Göpel 1976, no. 792, vol. 1, pp. 476, 480–81, 537, 542, 554; vol. 2, p. 295 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1949: Feb. 2, May 10–12, 14–16, 23–25, June 8, Sept. 8; pp. 301, 316–18, 320, 337. Lackner 1977, pp. [7], 158, [159] (pl. 44 [color]). Cologne 1984, p. 128. Spieler 1995, pp. 171, 176 (color ill.). Rome 1996, p. 23 (fig. 3). Kienle 2008, pp. 100, 101 (fig. 49 [color]). Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 36 (fig. 25 [color]).

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1949, cat. 21, n.pag. Chicago 1951, cat. 31, n.pag. St. Louis 1952, cat. 6, p. 9. Milwaukee 1954–55, cat. 5, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). New York et al. 1957, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1960, cat. 79, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 92, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 84, n.pag. Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 61, n.pag., ill. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 47, p. 10. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 25, pp. 11, 53 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 25, pp. 11, 53; Essen 1969, cat. 25, pp. 11, 53; Bremen 1969a, cat. 25, pp. 11, 53 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 25, pp. 11, 53 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 37, pp. 21 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 48, pp. 16–17, 84 (color ill.). St. Louis 1976, cover (color), n.pag. Fort Lauderdale 1983, cat. 29, n.pag., color ill. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 123, pp. 312 (color ill.), 372, 470. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 60, pp. 188, 189 (color ill.), 233. Leipzig 2011–12, p. 249.

RELATED WORK: Fig. 34/3. See also note 8

NOTES

1. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 22, 1948, p. 255.
2. Fred Conway, interview with Walter Barker, 1970, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
3. Philip Pierce, "Work Is Art Modernists' Reply to Critics," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Mar. 31, 1947.
4. Frances Pratt and Becca Fizel, *Encaustic: Materials and Methods* (New York: Lear), 1949, p. 34. Perry Rathbone referred to the "remarkable translucency" achieved by Conway's wax technique, which he described as "an emulsion of wax and varnish." Rathbone, "Foreword," *Conway* (New York: Chinese Gallery, 1948), n.pag.
5. Conway's technique is described in detail in Pratt/Fizel (note 3), pp. 34–36.
6. MB to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, Dec. 9, 1950, John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, New York. Beckmann was one of twelve individuals, including Philip Guston, Joseph Pulitzer Jr., and Perry Rathbone, who recommended Conway for a Guggenheim Foundation Fellowship (he did not receive one). I would like to thank Joan Crancer for her kind permission to review the file. In his diary, Beckmann noted having seen Conway demonstrate his technique on television while dining at one of his favorite St. Louis restaurants, which had a television set. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 13, 1948, p. 253. In his interview with Walter Barker (note 2), Conway recalled that Beckmann stopped by his studio once and remarked, "You like Paul Klee."
7. Pierce (note 3).
8. Morton D. May's object record notes two existing drawings for this portrait, one then at the Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York (fig. 34/3), and the other in his collection. May Archives, SLAM. The latter could not be located. See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 481.
9. Conway, interview (note 2).
10. Ibid.
11. In his diary, Beckmann noted one hour of work on the Conway portrait in New York. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Mar. 31, 1949, p. 337. The area of the signature, in the upper-right corner, exhibits pentimenti. The original signature was read using infrared technology and is similar to the way Beckmann made dedications on other portraits, such as that of Herbert Tannenbaum (Göpel 738).
12. Curt Valentin to MB, Sept. 1, 1950, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.5, Archives, MoMA.
13. MDM to SL, Sept. 22, 1955, May Archives, SLAM. "I have promised Fred that if I should ever sell it he could buy it."
14. For more on Conway, see Frank O'Brien, "Fred Conway," *Washington University Magazine* (Spring 1970), pp. 19–27; Mary Duff, "Fred Conway: Landmarks of St. Louis," *Missouri Life* (May/June 1973), pp. 19–26.
15. Although Beckmann titled the work "Portrait of Conway" in his picture list, the sitter's first name has been added to the official SLAM title for clarity.

CHAPTER 6

St. Louis to New York

Cats. 35–39

CHAPTER 6

St. Louis to New York

During World War II, the Carnegie Institute in Pittsburgh suspended its annual exhibition of international art. The institution reinstated the event when the war ended, but, rather than showcase national and foreign artists as it had since 1896, it devoted the next five exhibitions solely to the work of Americans—defined as those who lived and worked in the United States. The influx of émigré artists to the United States during and after the war prompted the critic Dorothy Grafly to note in 1949, commenting on the last of the all-American Carnegie annuals, that "many of the names once featured prominently in sections devoted to the art of various foreign lands are to be found this year clustered around the United States art flag." For the critic, the shift in participants' affiliations or residencies during these years rendered "the term 'American Art,' in the strict sense of nationality, inadequate and obsolete."[1] In many ways representative of this development, Max Beckmann was among the participants that year.

In his first Carnegie International, in 1929, Beckmann had been represented by five canvases. Called "the most original and most powerful of the Germans," the artist won an honorable mention.[2] In the mid-1930s, *The Bath* (cat. 14) and *The King* (cat. 18) made their American debut in Pittsburgh as examples of contemporary German art (see fig. 25). In 1949 Beckmann's *Fisherwomen* (cat. 30) dominated the central upstairs gallery at the Carnegie (see fig. 35) and earned the event's top prize. By the time of this win, Beckmann had resided in St. Louis for over a year. Except for his return to Holland with his wife in the summer of 1948 in order to resolve visa matters and collect their belongings, he remained in the United States for the rest of his life. The receipt of his immigration permit in 1948 even moved him to refer to himself as "a half-American."[3] Nonetheless, Beckmann's assimilation into the American art scene was not as straightforward as the Carnegie's approach might suggest.

Beckmann's output during his American years has only recently received significant scholarly attention in comparison to his European production.[4] The artist's final period was long interpreted as an extension of his Dutch exile experience, albeit a positive one in contrast to the challenges the Beckmanns faced in wartime Amsterdam.[5] Recent scholars have increasingly defined the artist's American years not as exile—understood as a forced state—but as emigration. Indeed, Beckmann's desire to move to the United States was long-standing (he had tried in vain to do so in 1940), and he turned down several teaching offers in Germany after the war. He is known to have viewed post-war Germany with skepticism, referring to it as a "vacuum" in the wake of Nazi persecution of modern artists.[6] In 1945 Beckmann wrote to his New York dealer Curt Valentin, "As far as Europe and especially Germany, naturally, are concerned . . . I have provisionally made my peace with them."[7] His new and final home offered him a secure and enthusiastic support base (see Chapter 5); a myriad of physical comforts denied him in Amsterdam; and, perhaps most importantly, invigorating and long-sought celebrity. Frequently cited in this regard is a passage the artist wrote in his diary upon his arrival: "St. Louis. Finally a park. Finally trees, finally solid ground under my feet. A beautiful dream."[8] In 1951 H. W. Janson, an art historian who had left Germany before the war and had been the artist's colleague at Washington University, St. Louis, stated, "There can be little doubt that Beckmann's American years were the happiest and most fruitful of his career since 1932."[9] According to Walter Barker, one of the artist's Washington University students, "Most Americans no longer saw the Beckmanns shortly after meeting them as Europeans, but rather as Americans in the current of American life."[10] The artist's close friend and supporter Stephan Lackner pointed out that Beckmann "did not turn into a Dutch painter," while in Amsterdam— neither adapting his work to that country's taste nor finding many patrons there, despite producing the occasional "Dutch canal landscape or a girl with a typically Dutch headgear."[11] Americans, on the other hand, were quick to claim the artist as one of their own.

In the 1950s and 1960s, writers and public alike often characterized displaced persons who reached American shores during and after World War II as embracing the country and citizenship with total enthusiasm. This exceptionalist assumption framed the way Beckmann's life and work in the United States were perceived for many years. Recently, this

Fig. 35. Installation view of Max Beckmann's *Fisherwomen* (cat. 30) in "Painting in the United States," 1949, Carnegie Institute, Pittsburgh. Carnegie Museum of Art Archives, Pittsburgh.

view has been significantly modified by the publication of an annotated edition of Beckmann's letters, availability of his unedited diaries, and examination of other documents. For example, it is likely that growing concern about Cold War developments, leading to the division of Germany in 1947 and the establishment of two Koreas in 1948, played a key role in the artist's decision not to return to Europe.[12] Kenneth Hudson, dean of Washington University's School of Fine Arts, wrote the Beckmanns in Holland in August 1948, "I can appreciate the sense of tension which must run through the thoughts and lives of everyone in Europe these days, but from our vantage point in St. Louis the situation seems a little less critical."[13] In 1950, when agreeing in principle to lead summer courses at the Städelschule in Frankfurt, where he had taught until 1933, Beckmann expressed explicit concern about the political situation. He would go to Germany the following summer, he wrote his son, Peter, "if I can and Mr. Stalin allows it."[14] Beckmann died two weeks after penning this statement.

At best, Beckmann's enthusiasm for the United States waxed and waned, an ambivalence perhaps most fully embodied in his final self-portrait (cat. 39). The canvas has been interpreted by some as a positive response to his surroundings, by others as a negative one, and by still others as a hybrid representation of Old World subjectivity and New World pragmatism.[15] Several paintings from the last years of Beckmann's life in the collection of the Saint Louis Art Museum, such as *Boulder—Rocky Landscape* (cat. 36) and *The Town (City Night)* (cat. 37), offer distinctly American motifs, but, as this chapter demonstrates, even these subjects reveal the artist's complicated relationship with his new home. When considering his last paintings, recent scholars have emphasized continuity with his previous work, as opposed to change. Stefana Sabin, for example, astutely described Beckmann's assimilation into American life as a curious ability to absorb new surroundings while continuing to live and work largely as he always had.[16] As the artist declared in 1949, "For my part, I have no reason to notice big changes in myself. My world view has not changed since Frankfurt."[17]

Painting under Fire

Even before he set foot on American soil, Beckmann's reputation in the United States was strong, based largely on his status as an artist who had been forced to leave Nazi Germany.[18] A series of American exhibitions and publications contributed to the widespread belief that art and artists the Nazis had condemned as "degenerate" were, necessarily, anti-fascist.[19] To put

it another way, defamation was understood at the time as equivalent to resistance. While in many examples this was indeed the case, the political affiliations and activities of such a diverse group of artists thus branded were anything but straightforward.[20] In the late 1930s and 1940s, Beckmann's work appeared in exhibitions in Britain and the United States that foregrounded the destructive impact of the degenerate-art campaign on the German art world. A show held in London of twentieth-century German art, discussed in Chapter 4, traveled to the United States as the "Exhibition of 20th Century (Banned) German Art" in 1939–40.[21] Another, entitled "New Acquisitions: Free German Art," followed at New York's Museum of Modern Art in 1942, the same year the institution purchased Beckmann's *Departure* triptych (fig. 26), which by that time was widely understood as an archetypal representation of exile.[22] As Anabelle Kienle showed, such associations now led to characterizations of Beckmann—an artist who, in the 1920s, American critics had considered quintessentially German—as "un-German" or even an "ex-German."[23]

In September 1947, shortly after arriving in St. Louis, Beckmann gave a number of interviews to the local press.[24] An article in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, entitled "Artist Who Fled from the Nazis Begins Teaching at Washington U.," describes the artist's exile in Amsterdam at length. The author's focus on Beckmann's "10 years of secret painting activity in exile"—described in a subtitle as "Painting under Fire"—irritated the artist, who complained in his diary about the "ridiculous" (*lächerlich*) interview.[25] Beckmann was not the only artist to claim that his reasons for emigrating from Europe were not political or, at the very least, to attempt to deflect American interest in his wartime activities.[26] In his case, such a stance was nothing new, for, as seen in Chapter 4, he consistently disavowed the ideological implications of his work. Tellingly, however, a 1964 film about him by Charles Guggenheim, shown in both the United States and West Germany (see Introduction), cites an early comment attributed to Beckmann about the *Departure* triptych. Referring to the child in the woman's lap as symbolizing freedom, he is said to have remarked, "Freedom is the one thing that matters."[27] "And in America," declares an American male actor in a voiceover in the film, "he found that freedom."[28] This statement—like the film itself—reflects the belief that the American democratic system guaranteed not only the political but also the artistic liberty of exiles from Germany such as Beckmann. As Sabine Eckmann observed, this viewpoint used émigré artists "to institutionalize hegemonic cultural positions."[29] Wherever Beckmann went in the United States, his presence was a constant reminder of the war against fascism. His American colleague Fred Conway (cat. 34) described how the artist's presence on campus was perceived: "Here's Beckmann, the statue of liberty."[30]

"The Beckmann Effect"[31]

In 1946 Curt Valentin debuted at his New York gallery a selection of work Beckmann had produced in Amsterdam (see fig. 27).[32] Among the paintings exhibited were *Acrobats* (cat. 19), *Young Men by the Sea* (cat. 21), and *Portrait of Ludwig Berger* (cat. 23). Presented as the return of the exiled artist to the public arena, the show, not surprisingly, was seen by many critics as political; one even referred to the artist as a "violent anti-Nazi."[33] An exception was a very thorough review—notable for its emphasis on painting rather than on biography—by Clement Greenberg, then the leading champion of the New York School. Unlike *Departure*, which the critic had seen at MoMA and deemed "clumsy and callow," Beckmann's Dutch-period works pleased him. Several on view, he wrote, "warrant calling Beckmann a great artist, even though he may not be a great painter." Critical of the German artist's craft, Greenberg nonetheless considered his "flat, painterly vision," in particular his depictions of the human figure, as enabling him to "translate art to the heights." Beckmann, declared Greenberg, "is certainly one of the last to handle the portrait and the figure on the level of ambitious, original art."[34]

The late 1940s marked a period of tremendous change in the American art scene. The influx of European artists that Grafly noted in her review of the 1949 Carnegie exhibition led many to reflect on the relationship between American and European developments, as well as between figurative and abstract tendencies in art. Grafly claimed that in 1949 the United States had become "the new art center of the world." However, using the exhibition as a measure, she felt that the hold European artists had over their American counterparts still remained stronger than vice versa.[35] The central placement of Beckmann's painting in the exhibition and his first-prize win, therefore, were as much an acknowledgment that *Fisherwomen* was a powerful example of what Grafly called a "radical idea canvas" (see cat. 30) as they were a recognition of the artist's position as an internationally successful, vocal proponent of figurative art in the European tradition.[36]

Like distinctions between the American and European avant-garde, those between abstraction and figuration were by no means absolute. Margaret Breuning, writing about the Pittsburgh show in *Art Digest*, characterized abstraction as a move away from "objective fact." For her even a figurative composition by Amédée Ozenfant or a hyper-realist work by Charles Sheeler were decidedly abstract. Nonetheless, she observed that at the Carnegie "non-objective and abstract works were not predominant."[37] The institution's director, Homer Saint-Gaudens, hoping to foreground what he saw as the "current imaginative extremes" featured in the exhibition, placed Beckmann's winning canvas near works by American-born figurative artists such as George Biddle and Randall

Davey.[38] The relationship between the art of Beckmann and one American artist included in the Carnegie exhibition—Maurice Freedman—was particularly direct. Not only had Freedman seen Beckmann's art in Paris years before, but in the late 1940s had encouraged Morton D. May to collect it. May in fact lent both Beckmann's *Fisherwomen* and Maurice Freedman's *Still Life (Caught in the Net I)* (fig. 36) to the Pittsburgh exhibition. The two works exhibit similar paint handling and use of thick, black outlines, as well as a related theme. Not represented in the 1949 Pittsburgh exhibition, but nonetheless a leading exponent of American modernism, Marsden Hartley was directly compared to Beckmann by Greenberg. Beckmann, he wrote, "reminds us of much [of what] we have already seen in German expressionism and in Marsden Hartley—his affinities with Hartley are amazingly close."[39] Not surprisingly, May also collected works by Hartley (see fig. 5), who before World War I had lived in Germany, where he was profoundly impacted by German expressionism. However, as Robert Storr correctly noted, the similarities between Beckmann and Hartley constitute a parallel development rather than a case of direct influence.[40]

Pondering the concurrency of Beckmann's time in the United States and the rise of abstract expressionism, some have used the term "non-encounter" to describe the lack of direct contact between him and members of the New York School. This can most likely be explained by Beckmann's objections to abstraction, which he had expressed for decades, as well as his insistence on his independence as an artist.[41] If Beckmann ever saw examples of abstract expressionism, there is no known documentation of it. On the other hand, the degree to which New York's avant-garde was exposed to and affected by the art of Beckmann and other Germans was obscured, as Lucy Embick pointed out, by the long-held notion that German art emphasized content over form (see Introduction). According to Embick, when Beckmann's art appeared in New York, it was in fact "viewed with admiration by the artists who became the abstract expressionists."[42] Although no detailed account of their response exists, Adolph Gottlieb and Mark Rothko—both of whose work was steeped in symbolism—saw art by Beckmann at J. B. Neumann's New Art Circle gallery.[43] As discussed in Chapter 5, Beckmann had assumed Philip Guston's teaching position at Washington University when the latter took a leave of absence. Then a figurative painter, Guston readily acknowledged his interest in Beckmann's art, which he had seen for the first time at the Buchholz Gallery in the late 1930s. Guston's 1945 *If This Be Not I* (fig. 37) was praised by Janson, who acquired the canvas for Washington University's art collection, for what he saw as its successful engagement with the European avant-garde.[44] Beckmann declared, soon after his arrival in St. Louis, that the younger artist was a "Beckmannjaner," the German equivalent of his follower.[45] Janson would later claim that Guston's work

Fig. 36. Maurice Freedman (American; 1904–1985). *Still Life (Caught in the Net I)*, 1949. Oil on canvas; 50.8 x 86.4 cm. Minneapolis Institute of Arts, gift of Mr. Morton D. May, 56.2.

Fig. 37. Philip Guston (American; 1913–1980). *If This Be Not I*, 1945. Oil on canvas, 107.3 x 140.3 cm. Mildred Lane Kemper Art Museum, Washington University, St. Louis, University purchase, Kende Sale Fund, 1945, WU 3766.

exemplified Beckmann's legacy in the United States.[46] It is worth noting that contemporary discussions about *If This Be Not I* focused on its formal strength rather than its allegorical import, which has dominated later readings of the painting (together with reference to the Washington University connection between Guston and Beckmann). Like Beckmann, Guston then was primarily concerned with the construction of pictorial space. Guston's forms moved ever closer to the surface, however, and, by the early 1950s, his work was fully abstract. Indeed, this shift in his style had already occurred by the time the two men finally met, in New York, in March 1950.[47] Beckmann was regarded by artists such as Guston, as well as by critics, not only as a leading exemplar of figuration, but also as the European predecessor for American-bred innovations in abstraction. This legacy is distinct from the abstract trajectory originating in Europe in the early twentieth century and with which Beckmann repeatedly took issue.

Beckmann's most significant, direct contact with American artists resulted from his various teaching positions and from attending social events in the art community in St. Louis, New York, and the many cities across the country that he visited, often in connection with the major traveling exhibition of his work organized by the City Art Museum, St. Louis, in 1948 (see Introduction and Chapter 5). In addition to Freedman, whom Beckmann later saw frequently in New York, the American artist George Rickey had encountered Beckmann's work in Europe before the war and befriended him in St. Louis (see introduction to Chapter 5 and cats. 28, 33). An invitation from the Artists Equity Association to become a member signaled the degree to which Beckmann was embraced by fellow artists. Established in 1947, largely through the efforts of the organization's first president, artist-activist Yasuo Kuniyoshi, the association aimed "to advance the economic interests of painters, sculptors and graphic artists. . . . The group, which represents artists of every school, will endeavor to maintain and extend the importance of American art."[48] To underscore Beckmann's significance to the organization, in 1948 it held a large party in his honor in New York, even before he moved there.[49]

While Beckmann declared that he did not want his students to become mere Beckmann imitators,[50] his work resonated with many of them, including Walter Barker and Warren

Brandt in St. Louis, as well as Nathan Oliveira at Mills College, in Oakland, California, where Beckmann spent the summer of 1950. A talk the artist gave in Boston in 1948 in which he discussed the art of Paul Cézanne so impressed Ellsworth Kelly that he was inspired to move to Paris, where he would develop his signature style.[51] After settling in New York in early September 1949, Beckmann began his new position at the Brooklyn Museum Art School with thirty new students. As at Washington University, he was permitted to limit his time on campus; two times a week, the artist and his wife traveled from Manhattan to Brooklyn by subway (which Beckmann called the "elevator") and, increasingly, by taxi.[52] While he spent his first half year in New York largely in the small circle around Curt Valentin and his gallery, his contact with the art scene increased with an exhibition of his work at Valentin's Buchholz Gallery in 1949.[53] Its positive reception prompted Beckmann to write in his diary, "Also a few other rays of hope" (*Auch sonst einige Lichtblücke*).[54] The purchase of his 1949 *Large Still Life with Black Sculpture* (Göpel 797) by the Museum of Modern Art, New York, and an honorary degree from Washington University followed.[55]

The American Wilderness

As seen in Chapter 3, in the late 1920s and early 1930s, Beckmann was far more interested in establishing himself in France than in the United States. He questioned that the latter was a promising environment for art, dismissing it, as he said to his dealer J. B. Neumann, as the "American wilderness" (*amerikanische Wildnis*).[56] But, at the same time, Beckmann had a keen interest in that "wilderness." In his youth, he had been captivated by travelogues and Wild West stories, a genre popularized in Germany by a fictional adventure series by Karl May (who famously never left the European continent).[57] Beckmann may have drawn himself in 1949 in the guise of a cowboy, but his interests went beyond a childlike fascination.[58] The artist often conflated the early history of the Americas with notions of a primeval land like that described in the theosophical writings of Helena P. Blavatzky (see cat. 36).[59] Having read a number of works by authors on the fabled Atlantis, Beckmann appears to have subscribed to the belief that America had been a colony of this mythic island realm.[60] Traveling in the Midwest and West, he was able to realize his long-held dream to explore the dramatic and evocative topography of these regions. Not surprisingly, he was fascinated by the ancient Amerindian mound city of Cahokia, across the Mississippi River from St. Louis.[61] And yet his attempts to reconnect with a lost age were often thwarted by the actualities of present-day tourism and commerce. For example, a day trip to Meramec Caverns (not incidentally a legendary hideout

Fig. 38. Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, Max Beckmann, and Tookie Barker, Meramec Caverns, Missouri, April 18, 1948. Saint Louis Art Museum Archives, gift of Ruth (Tookie) Barker.

Fig. 39. Max Beckmann and Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann with Native American dancers, Colorado Springs, August 21, 1949. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

of Jesse James) in Stanton, Missouri, subjected the Beckmanns to a long drive on a traffic-filled road peppered by numerous advertisements for the caves. Somewhat disappointed by the famed mineral formations, the artist nonetheless ate (bad) sausage, purchased amethyst keepsakes, and posed with his wife and students outside the tourist attraction (see fig. 38).[62] While in Colorado for a summer teaching job in 1949, the artist witnessed Native American dancing. During an outing to Colorado Springs, colleagues snapped a photo of Quappi Beckmann gamely wearing a headdress and blanket (fig. 39).[63] Just days before, however, the artist had attended a

Fig. 40. Perry Rathbone, Max Beckmann, Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann, and the Beckmanns' dog, Butschy, in front of the center canvas of *Blindman's Bluff* (1944–45; Göpel 704, Minneapolis Institute of Arts) in Boulder, Colorado, June 29, 1949. Archives, University Libraries, University of Colorado at Boulder.

local performance of "native" dances that he dismissed as "imitations by Americans."[64] *Boulder—Rocky Landscape* (cat. 36) demonstrates Beckmann's need to remove the trappings of everyday reality from a dramatic landscape in order to reveal its timeless, primordial character.

Although the United States did not always live up to Beckmann's expectations, it did provide him with new perspectives, including on his own work. While he was in Boulder, an iteration of the 1948 St. Louis retrospective of his art was displayed at the university in a fashion totally unlike anything the Beckmanns had ever seen. While the artist did not record his response to the show's design, Quappi Beckmann was clearly struck by it. In her diary, she noted that not all the paintings were hung on the wall; some seemed to float "freely in the air" (*frei in der Luft*). A news photograph of the Beckmanns with City Art Museum director Perry Rathbone shows the artist's large triptych *Blindman's Bluff* (1944–45; Göpel 704, Minneapolis Institute of Arts) resting directly on the floor (fig. 40).[65] Adhered to wood slats, the center canvas stood apart from the left and right sides of the triptych, allowing viewers to walk between them at a proscribed distance. Quappi Beckmann also described "walls in orange, black, yellow and blue" and "net effects that one looks through to the paintings!"[66] Such "crazy" effects, as she put it,[67] although not recorded in existing photographs, were perhaps inspired by the exhibition designs of Marcel Duchamp, who for a 1942 display in New York, "First Papers of Surrealism," strung an intricate net of twine across the gallery that disrupted one's movement through the space; and of the architect Frederick Kiesler, whose installation, also in 1942, for Peggy Guggenheim's Art of This Century Gallery in New York featured such innovations as hanging curvilinear wall units from which works jutted into space on adjustable arms, spotlights that turned on and off at random, and occasional sound effects such as that of an oncoming train. Whether influenced or not by such inventive precedents, the installation in Boulder, by Leslie Merrill, an instructor of fine arts at the university, inserted Beckmann's art into a physical, and even optical, experience contrary to the pristine, light-colored rooms in which most European and American museums placed his work.

"American Painting Today"

Beckmann's long-held self-definition (repeated often by the artist) as an individualist (Greenberg's "great artist") did not mean that he did not participate in contemporary artistic developments.[68] In 1950 the Artists Equity Association, of which he was a member, was instrumental in encouraging the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, to organize a large-scale event. Entitled "American Painting Today: A National Competitive Exhibition," it went on view at the end of that year.[69] Five regional panels selected work from across the country, and final decisions were made by a national jury. The exhibition included art by Beckmann's former colleague Conway and acquaintance Freedman, along with examples by artists such as Romare Bearden, Lyonel Feininger, Edward Hopper, Kuniyoshi, Rico Lebrun, Reginald Marsh, Ben Shahn, Sheeler, and Andrew Wyeth, among others. Beckmann was represented by *Self-Portrait 1950* (cat. 39). The head of the Metropolitan's recently established Department of American Art, Robert Beverly Hale, demonstrating how abstraction and figuration were generally considered to be polar opposites, installed the works according to where he believed they belonged on a spectrum from one to the other, although there were actually very few pure abstractions on display. When the *New York Times* declared that the exhibition would be "an affirmation of democratic principles," eighteen painters (none of whom was represented in "American Painting Today") and ten sculptors signed a letter, dated May 20, 1950, and addressed to the museum's director (the newspaper printed it on the front page two days later), in which they denounced the upcoming event as a "monster national exhibition" that had been deliberately skewed by the conservative aesthetic positions of the jurors to exclude "advanced art." Known shortly thereafter as the "Irascibles," these artists—Willem De Kooning, Adolph Gottlieb, Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, and Mark Rothko among them—came to define American avant-garde art at mid-century.[70] The eventual triumph of American abstraction over figuration may at first seem to have put Beckmann on the wrong side of art history in the United States; despite his impact on artists such as Guston, Oliveira, and Kelly, he could be seen by younger generations as a useful figurative-art straw man.

On December 27, 1950, Beckmann left his New York apartment to take a walk in nearby Central Park and perhaps stop by the Metropolitan to visit his portrait—the first painting by him to hang in this august institution—in the recently opened "American Painting Today."[71] The artist, who had long suffered from a heart condition, which he had taken pains to hide from colleagues and even friends, collapsed not far from the apartment and died of heart failure. A memorial service in New York in January was attended by numerous colleagues, students, private collectors, and institutional supporters. The service concluded with a sole eulogy, delivered by Rathbone. In Germany memorial services were held in Frankfurt, Stuttgart, Munich, and Murnau.

Throughout his life, Beckmann was upset by references to his work as ugly or off-putting. Thus, he would not have been happy with his obituary in the *New York Times,* which includes the misleading, timeworn description of the artist as an expressionist and reiterates the stereotype of German art as more subjective than aesthetically pleasing.[72] On the other hand, he might well have been pleased with the brief eulogy delivered by the German painter Georg Meistermann at the Munich memorial, in February 1951. Known for his abstract work, Meistermann referred to Beckmann as representative of the "new" generation of German artists. He praised Beckmann for having had the courage to reveal the other face of things; his strength had allowed him to delve beyond the surface into inner worlds, to withstand and reveal in his work the suffering of humankind.[73]

As a close look at the Saint Louis Art Museum's magisterial collection of paintings by Beckmann demonstrates, both the man and his art have proven hard to characterize, due in no small part to his own resistance to categorization. If Beckmann's last self-portrait is a hybrid representation of an artist caught between several worlds, the tensions it reveals and the questions it prompts define his entire oeuvre, which walks the line between past and present, reality and imagination, personal iconography and timeless symbolism, form and content. The staying power of Max Beckmann's art lies in his ability to put these very polarities into play, creating a dynamic dialogue that continues to engage viewers; he was an artist of his time and—as the decades since his death have proven—far beyond.

NOTES

1. Grafly 1949, p. 38. The Carnegie reinstated the international exhibition in 1950.

2. Edward Alden Jewell. "New Carnegie International Open at Pittsburgh," *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1929, cited in Sabin 2011–12, p. 52.

3. The Beckmanns initially considered spending the summer of 1948 in Mexico. In the end, they had to go to Holland because their passports had been issued there. Department of Special Collections, University Archives, Washington University, St. Louis. Beckmann referred to himself in a letter to his first wife as "already to a certain extent a half-American" (*gewissermaßen schon halber Amerikaner*). MB to MTB, MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Sept. 19, 1948, no. 881, p. 223. On Oct. 5 of that year, Beckmann and his wife submitted applications for citizenship. Beckmann was still a German citizen at the time of his death. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 30.

4. Kienle 2008 is the first sustained account of Beckmann's American period. Earlier studies include Janson 1951; Rathbone 1964–65; Barker 1984; Göpel (1955) 1984, pp. 67–143; Peter Selz, "The American Years," in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, pp. 159–71; Barbara Stehlé-Aktar, "From Obscurity to Recognition: Max Beckmann in America," in New York 1996–97,

pp. 21–55; Forster-Hahn 2007a, pp. 17–31. The first major exhibition dedicated to the artist's years in the U.S. was held at the Städel Museum, Frankfurt (Frankfurt 2011–12).

5. These include New York 1996–67. Commentators who questioned this view have either qualified the notion of exile (Forster-Hahn 2007a, p. 18) or described his final years as an emigration (Spieler 1995, p. 163; Kienle 2008, esp. p. 8; Sabin 2011–12, p. 55).

6. See MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, p. 94. Although Beckmann's letters indicate that he would have liked to see family and support exhibitions of his work in Germany in the immediate post-war period, he devoted much energy trying to secure a visa to visit France and then seeking to move, initially temporarily, to the U.S.

7. MB to CV, Sept. 28, 1945, in MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, no. 750, pp. 95–96. "Ich habe mit Europa und speziell natürlich Deutschland vorläufig . . . innerlich abgeschlossen." English in Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 26.

8. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Sept. 18, 1947, p. 210. "St. Louis. Endlich ein Park. Endlich Bäume, endlich Boden unter den Füßen. Ein herrlicher Traum."

9. Janson 1951, p. 90. The National Socialists came to power in 1933.

10. Barker 1984, p. 11. "Die meisten Amerikaner sahen die Beckmanns schon kurz nach dem Kennenlernen nicht mehr als Europäer, sondern als Amerikaner im Strom des amerikanischen Lebens."

11. Stephan Lackner, "Exile in Amsterdam and Paris," in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 150.

12. Lenz 2007–8, p. 93. See for example Beckmann's diary entry in which he cited "Germany and Russians" (*Germany und Russen*) as a reason not to accept the directorship of the Landeskunstschule in Hamburg, which he referred to as the "Hamburger Kunstschule" (today the Hochschule für bildende Künste Hamburg). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 26, 1948, p. 270. See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 30. Discussing Beckmann's positive response to life in St. Louis, Morton D. May did allow that the artist was concerned about current conditions in Europe. MDM, interview with Walter Barker, July 5, 1970, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine. See also Barker 1984, p. 115.

13. Kenneth Hudson to MB and MQB, Aug. 11, 1948. Department of Special Collections, University Archives, Washington University Libraries, St. Louis.

14. MB to PB, in MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Dec. 17, 1950, no. 1016, p. 350. "Wenn ich kann und es Herr Stalin erlaubt." At the Frankfurt memorial service, it was noted that Städel students had looked forward to his return to the school. *In Memoriam: Max Beckmann* (West Germany [now Munich]: Max Beckmann Gesellschaft, 1953), p. 35. See also Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 32.

15. On the competing readings of the self-portrayal, see cat. 39. For more on Beckmann's ambivalence about the U.S., see Norton/Roth 2010.

16. Sabin 2011–12, p. 56. See also Barker 1984, p. 130; Jutta Schütt, "Beckmann & America," in Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 13.

17. MB to Benno Reifenberg, in MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Mar. 9, 1949, no. 909, pp. 247–48.

18. Kienle 2008, esp. pp. 36–40. Chametzksy 2009, pp. 253–54. Stefana Sabin noted in passing the "aura of the persecuted artist," stating that Beckmann's status as an exile made him a "heroic figure." Sabin 2011–12, pp. 53–54.

19. Eckmann/Koepnick 2007, p. 95. Sabine Eckmann aptly demonstrated how the identification of exile with modern art also played a key role in post-war identity formation.

20. Langfeld 2011, p. 11; Kort 2002, pp. 260–93, esp. pp. 273–79. See also Sabine Eckmann, "German Exile, Modern Art, and National Identity," in Eckmann/Koepnick 2007, pp. 95–125.

21. Langfeld 2011, pp. 139–42; Adkins/Lackner 1988, p. 315. Other exhibitions featuring the banned art of German artists, mostly expressionists, include "Contemporary German Art" (1939) at Boston's Institute of Modern Art; "Landmarks in Modern German Art" (1940) at Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery, New York (this included Beckmann's *Christ and the Sinner* [cat. 8]); and "Forbidden Art of the Third Reich" (1945) at Karl Nierendorf's New Gallery, New York. See also Eckmann/Koepnick 2007, p. 106.

22. This interpretation can be traced back to Alfred H. Barr Jr.'s comments in the catalogue for the 1939 MoMA exhibition "Art in Our Time." See Peters 2005, pp. 168–71.

23. Henry McBride, *New York Sun*, Jan. 6, 1940, cited in Kienle 2008, p. 36, n. 241. See also Sabin 2011–12, p. 54.

24. According to a letter to his first wife, Beckmann gave five or six interviews. MB to MBT, in MB, *Briefe* 3 1996, Oct. 13, 1947, no. 835, p. 184.

25. "Artist Who Fled from the Nazis Begins Teaching at Washington U.," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, Sept. 23, 1947. Although Quappi Beckmann revealed much in the article about the everyday struggles of life in exile, Beckmann is quoted as saying, "Let's put such memories aside. They're too horrible." MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Sept. 23, 1947, p. 211.

26. Gregor Langfeld mentioned Bauhaus artists Josef and Anni Albers as other examples. Langfeld 2011, p. 105.

27. The statement attributed to Beckmann ("Freedom is the one thing that matters—it is the departure, the new start") originated, according to Stephan Lackner, in a letter from the artist's early patron Lilly von Schnitzler to Alfred H. Barr Jr., June 1, 1955, in which she related Beckmann's explanation of *Departure*'s symbolism after its completion in 1937. Lackner 1977, p. 116.

28. *German Expressionism in the New World*, 1964, Guggenheim Productions, St. Louis, and Aventin-Filmstudios, Munich.

29. Eckmann/Koepnick 2007, p. 96. See also Intro.

30. Fred Conway, interview with Walter Barker, n.d., Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.

31. This is the title Robert Storr gave his essay about the impact of Beckmann's work on American art in London/New York 2003, pp. 11–16, 23–43. Much ink has been spilled on the question of Beckmann's legacy, especially his impact on artists active after his death. Storr did not see evidence of his influence until the 1970s, citing Philip Guston and Jörg Immendorff as Beckmann's "heirs" (pp. 39–42). See also Intro.

32. New York et al. 1946.

33. Ben Wolf, "Exile Beckmann Returns to Exhibition Arena," *Art Digest* 20, 15 (May 1, 1946), p. 13.

34. Clement Greenberg, "Art [review of exhibitions of works by Max Beckmann and Robert De Niro]," *The Nation* (May 18, 1946), p. 610, cited in *Clement Greenberg: The Collected Essays and Criticism*, vol. 2, ed. John O'Brian (Chicago/London: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 80–81. *Departure* is not strictly an exilic work, since Beckmann completed it before he left Germany.

35. Grafly 1949, p. 38.

36. Ibid.

37. Margaret Breuning, "Carnegie Presents Last and Best All-American Annual," *Art Digest* 24, 2 (Oct. 15, 1949), p. 7.

38. According to Saint-Gaudens, the art in the show was intentionally not displayed according to "this or that picture-minded group." Rather, "the hanging side by side of current imaginative extremes," he wrote, "produces a comprehension of the place of painting in contemporary life." Pittsburgh 1949, n.pag. See also Homer Saint-Gaudens, "As to Our Jury and Their Prizes," *Carnegie Magazine* (Nov. 1949), p. 117.

39. Greenberg (note 34), p. 80.

40. Storr, in London/New York 2003, pp. 38–39. Storr noted such similarities as "bold, dense, unatmospheric, colours, heavy block contour drawing, the liberal use of chroma-subduing whites, and a range of angular shapes or curves lozenges." Ibid., p. 38.

41. See for example Spieler 1995, p. 167; Anfam 2011–12, p. 262. In a lecture he gave in London (see Chap. 4), Beckmann declared, "I hardly need to abstract things, for each object is unreal enough already, so unreal that I can only make it real by means of painting." MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 302–3. See also intro. to Chap. 5.
42. Lucy McCormick Embick, "The Expressionist Current in New York's Avant-Garde: The Paintings of the Ten," M.A. thesis, University of Oregon, 1982, p. 3.
43. Ibid., p. 44. See also Anfam 2011–12, pp. 264–65.
44. H. W. Janson, "Philip Guston," *Magazine of Art* 40 (Feb. 1947), p. 58. For more on Janson and his role in the development of Washington University's art collection, see Eckmann 2002.
45. Beckmann, cited in Wieg 2005, p. 107. The artist spelled "Beckmannianer" the way it is pronounced in German, with a "j." The orthography in Beckmann's letters and diaries is often flawed.
46. Janson 1951, p. 92.
47. Janson took Guston to Beckmann's studio. The Beckmanns found Guston, as Quappi Beckmann stated, "much nicer than we thought, not at all arrogant or 'lion-like'" ("viel netter als wir dachten, gar nicht arrogant oder "Loewenhaft"). MQB, diary, Mar. 3, 1950, AAA, Washington, D.C. In a review of the Whitney Annual in 1948, Greenberg criticized Guston, along with Rico Lebrun and several others, for having built their reputations "by staying very close to Cézanne, Beckmann, or the Renaissance. . . . [They] have now suddenly—all within the past year, it seems—gone over into abstraction in order to prove themselves." Greenberg, "Whitney Annual," *Clement Greenberg* (note 34), p. 266.
48. Press release, Mar. 25, 1947, cited in David M. Sokol, "The Founding of the Artists Equity Association after World War II," *Archives of American Art Journal* 39, 1/2 (1999), p. 23. Among its members were such recognized artists as Romare Bearden, George Biddle, Jacob Lawrence, Ben Shahn, Charles Sheeler, and David Smith. Ibid., p. 22.
49. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Dec. 30, 1948, pp. 293–94.
50. See "Artist Who Fled" (note 25).
51. Ellsworth Kelly, "Boston, Beckmann, and After," in London/New York 2003, p. 237.
52. Beckmann noted in his diary that the program's director, Augustus Peck, required him to teach two days a week. MB, diary, Sept. 26, 1949, Columbia University, New York. One of Rathbone's strongest memories of Beckmann in New York was the amount of money he paid for taxis. Rathbone, interview with Walter Barker, May 5(?), 1970, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
53. New York 1949.
54. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Jan. 20, 1950, p. 359.
55. The still life was on view in the summer of 1950. Ibid., Aug. 26, 1950, p. 388. For the speech Beckmann delivered at the Washington University ceremony, see MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, pp. 318–20.
56. MB to J. B. Neumann, in MB, *Briefe* 2 1994, no. 562, Apr. 20, 1931, p. 195; Harter/Wiese 2012, no. 99, p. 223.
57. See Forster-Hahn 2007a, pp. 22–24; Harter 2011–12, p. 252.
58. MB, *Self-Portrait with Fish* (1949; Hamburger Kunsthalle). See Frankfurt 2011–12, cat. 79, pp. 186–90 (color ill.).
59. See Harter (note 57), pp. 252–61.
60. For these authors, see MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 395, n. 14.
61. The largest prehistoric city north of Mexico, Cahokia was settled around 600 and reached its peak at the beginning of the thirteenth century. See cat. 27.
62. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Apr. 18, 1948, p. 249. Beckmann recounted the drive as (an impossible) "1,500 miles." Quappi Beckmann mentioned the purchase of rocks resembling amethysts, which she says she never believed were real. Beckmann kept his on his bookshelves. MQB, interview with Walter Barker, Feb. 23, 1972, Walter Barker Estate, Southport, Maine.
63. In a letter to her sister, Quappi Beckmann described the experience as the first time she ever saw "real Indians" (*echte Indianer*). MQB to Hedda Schoonderbeek, Aug. 22, 1949, FMBA III 1, MB Archive, Munich.
64. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 16, 1949, p. 332.
65. *Rocky Mountain News*, July 10, 1949. According to Quappi Beckmann, photographs were taken on June 29, 1949, the day after the opening. MQB (note 47). See also MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, June 29, 1949, p. 325.
66. Quappi Beckmann wrote about the installation in her diary on June 25, 1949. MQB (note 47). "Wände in orange, Schwarz, gelb und blau. Netzefecte [*sic*], durch die man durchsieht auf die Bilder!"
67. MQB (note 47), June 23, 1949. " . . . ziemlich verrück" (pretty crazy).
68. Almost forty years later, Hilton Kramer attributed the delayed focus on the work Beckmann produced in the U.S. to the view that his art represented the past. Kramer, "Rediscovering the Art of Max Beckmann," *New York Times Magazine*, Aug. 19, 1984, p. 38. David Anfam more recently referred to Beckmann as the "face . . . of their [Americans'] European ancestry." Anfam 2011–12, p. 273.
69. New York 1950–51. The exhibition venue is erroneously identified as MoMA in MB, *Frühe Tagebücher* 1985, p. 197.
70. *Life* magazine published a now-celebrated photograph of many of the Irascibles, plus others, using the spread to declare the triumph of an original American style that had made New York City the new capital of the art world. *Life* (Jan. 15, 1951), p. 34. See Anfam 2011–12.
71. ". . . Am Mittwoch vormittag ging Max aus um ein wenig im Central Park zu spazierien er sagte dass er eventuell auch in's Metropolitan Museum ginge, wusste aber noch nicht sicher ob er dies tun wollte." (On Wednesday morning Max went out to walk a bit in Central Park he said he might also go to the Metropolitan Museum, but he wasn't sure yet whether he wanted to.) MQB to Hedda Schoonderbeek, Jan. 5, 1951, MBA III 1, MB Archive, Munich. Cited in Christian Lenz, *Max Beckmann Archiv. Erwerbungen 1985–2008*, Max Beckmann Archivs 10 (Munich: Max Beckmann Gesellschaft, 2008), p. 23.
72. "Mr. Beckmann was a leading exponent of expressionism, painting not to make a pretty picture but to show what was on his mind," *New York Times*, Dec. 28, 1950.
73. *In Memoriam* (note 14), p. 45.

Cat. 35

Large Still Life Interior (Blue)

1949
Oil on canvas; 56⅜ x 35¼ in. (143.2 x 89.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 863:1983

Not one but two and possibly three interiors are the subject of this painting. The first is a brightly illuminated room with a chair, a tall flowering plant, and a large round table on which sit two flower vases and an assortment of fruit. In the background, open doors offer a view onto what seems to be a darker, connecting space that leads into a third space, a sun-filled room.[1] Painted with colors straight from the tube, *Large Still Life Interior (Blue)* exemplifies the palette of Beckmann's final years. Mixing his paints less, he often used bare canvas to define the edges of forms (see also cat. 27) in addition to his characteristic harsh, black outlines. The canvas is dominated by various blues (which lend the work its name)—the bright blue of the chair back and the light blue of curtains and door—along with the red of the tablecloth (which is the basis for the alternate title, *Still Life with Red Table*). Behind the chair in the far background, thick yellow pigment suggests sunlight coming through the central window, its opacity precluding, however, any view of the outside. The maze of color, together with the labyrinth of closed-off spaces, thus pushes the viewer's gaze back to the objects in the foreground. The composition contrasts angular patterns—the zig-zag parquet floor, the square door panels, the spiky green plant—with the ovals of the table and chairs, the rounded objects on the table, and the arc of the newspaper (the "Daily") draped over a chair. An X-ray reveals that the newspaper originated as a fur stole or throw, which explains its limp curve.[2] Some of the forms seem anthropomorphic: the quick brushwork and alert, upright position of the centermost flowers give them an almost menacing energy, and the claw-footed table looks as though it might scuttle right off the canvas.

Commentators have compared *Large Still Life Interior (Blue)* to work by Pablo Picasso and Henri Matisse. Beckmann's choice of a guéridon, or pedestal table, is perhaps a direct reference to Picasso's (as well as Georges Braque's) frequent depictions of this form. Barbara Buenger related the "animalization of the furniture" here to works by Matisse. Indeed, Beckmann's composition bears a striking resemblance to the black and white painting that Matisse depicted in his 1948 still life *Large Interior in Red*, which the German artist may well have seen in reproduction.[3] Matisse's still life also includes a bear rug, which could have influenced the stole or throw Beckmann originally included in the present canvas. In its size and complexity, *Large Still Life Interior (Blue)* refutes the frequent characterization that Beckmann used the still-life genre as a respite from large-scale figure painting or more "ambitious" works.[4] As its title suggests, for Beckmann this still life cannot be separated from the interior in which it sits. In fact, the artist often employed the terms "still life" and "interior" interchangeably. The staggered construction of space in *Large Still Life Interior (Blue)*, which eschews perspectival aids, is an integral aspect of his approach to painting, one he emphasized with renewed vigor in his role as teacher in the United States.[5]

While this painting's large dimensions might overwhelm any domestic setting in which it is placed, Morton D. May was not deterred. According to the artist's diary, May saw the canvas in Beckmann's New York studio on November 15, 1949, and agreed to buy it the same day.[6] Indeed, it likely inspired the amateur artist's approach to still life. In 1950 Beckmann, who regularly critiqued May's paintings (see Introduction), inserted a table replete with a place setting into the lower portion of a canvas by his patron (fig. 35/1), creating, as he had with the chair in the St. Louis still life, what the artist believed to be the requisite distance between viewer and subject. May kept the painting "that is three-quarters May and one-quarter Beckmann, . . . a treasured memento of our friendship."[7]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGE 251.

Fig. 35/1. Morton D. May (American; 1914–1983), with modifications by Max Beckmann. *Still Life with Flowers*, 1950. Oil on canvas; 93.8 x 63.5 cm. Collection of Lucia P. May.

PARIS

Cat. 36

Boulder—Rocky Landscape

1949
Oil on canvas; 55¼ x 36⅛ in. (140.3 x 91.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 865:1983

In a memorial essay on Beckmann, H. W. Janson stated that the artist's American landscapes are "similar to his earlier ones of Holland and France in their condensed treatment of space but . . . replete with a new, American sense of scale."[1] In *Boulder—Rocky Landscape*, one of only six canvases by the artist inspired by American scenery, a high elevation affords a view into the far distance.[2] In the left foreground, a flowering plant is conjoined with horizontally striated rocks. These merged forms, heavily outlined in black, act as a repoussoir, a traditional framing device placed in the immediate foreground to create a sense of depth. At the top of the composition, craggy snowcapped mountains line the distant horizon.[3] Between these two spatial markers are a series of rock formations, a large tree trunk, a lake, and a river that meanders through the dramatic canyon it has carved out over millions of years.

Despite the painting's elevated vantage point, the constricted, vertical composition counteracts the "American sense of scale" that such a landscape might evoke. As the German artist and art critic Franz Roh observed, in this work, "everything is to be read from bottom to top instead of one losing oneself from the foreground into the dissolving distance."[4] Comparing the "strict flatness" (*strengste Flachigkeit*) of the forms to abstract painting, Roh described the composition as a "gigantic interlocking fabric [*Gewirk*] of horizontal and vertical fields of color: rust red, violet, earth colors, cadmium red, yellow and blue."[5] Along with the condensed space of the composition, the paint application heightens awareness of the surface. The artist blended some pigments directly on the canvas, onto which he also squeezed thick globs of purple at the far left (see fig. 36/1) and streaks of red at the lower right. Such apparently spontaneous surface effects purposefully create tension with the conventional means (such as the repoussoir) Beckmann used to define fore-, middle, and background. Indeed, Beckmann reworked the canvas to just this effect. An X-ray reveals an initially uninterrupted view of the water at the composition's center right. A large, pink rock formation, which effectively blocks a full vista of the canyon, replaced it, dividing the remaining body of water into two distinct, differently sized basins.

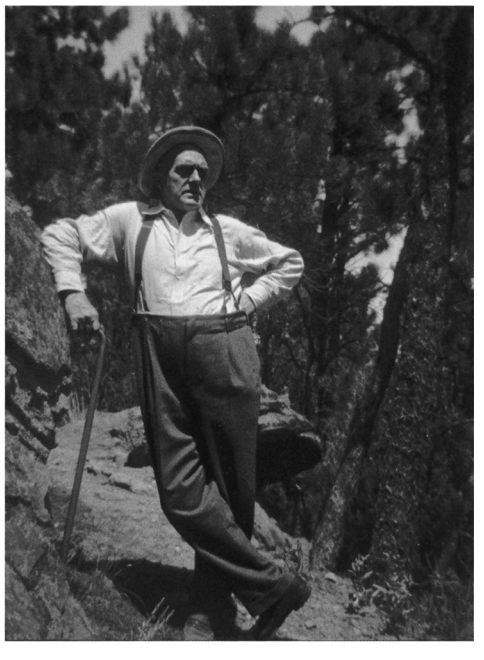
From June to August 1949, the Beckmanns lived in Boulder, Colorado, at the foot of the Flatiron Mountains. During that time, the artist taught three sections of second-year, advanced oil painting at the University of Colorado with a focus on the figure and landscape (see fig. 34).[6] While in Boulder, he produced seventeen drawings, at least three of which depict local scenery.[7] He made the second of these (fig. 36/2) after a trek in

Fig. 36/1. Max Beckmann. *Boulder—Rocky Landscape*. Detail showing purple paint at the far left.

Fig. 36/2. Max Beckmann. *Boulder, Colorado*, 1949. Pen and ink over graphite on paper; 60 x 45.2 cm. National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., gift of Mrs. Max Beckmann, 1984.64.1.

a nearby mountain forest.[8] "Unlike Americans," Perry Rathbone recalled, "Max's favorite exercise . . . was walking."[9] Beckmann was a strong and frequent walker, but his excursions in the summer heat and the high altitude of the American West often proved taxing for him. Photographs show the Beckmanns on a steep hike (which the artist characterized in English in his diary as a "climbingwalk"), resting halfway up Flagstaff Mountain near where they were staying (figs. 36/3–4).[10] In the drawing, as in several areas of the painting, rock formations assume human shapes. In his diary, Beckmann characterized such hikes as a struggle with an anthropomorphized nature: "The red giant fields-ghosts did not defeat us."[11] He described a trip to the Garden of the Gods, near Colorado Springs, as having "quite intensely reawakened my heart for old nature." It "was beautiful up there between 3–4 precipices so that one's own viewpoint [made one] a bit dizzy."[12]

Calling it alternately "Rockylandscape," "Boulder," and "Colorado" in his diary, Beckmann signed the canvas "Beckmann 49 B" ("B" for Boulder), even though he did not paint at all while in Colorado. Long considered a depiction of the Garden of the Gods, *Boulder-Rocky Landscape* is actually not a view of a single, specific topography.[13] Just as Beckmann's French and Italian landscapes resulted from multiple sources and impressions (see for example cat. 11), so too this painting is, as Françoise Forster-Hahn put it in regard to other works by the artist, a "composite vision."[14] In their free time, the artist and his wife went on a number of outings, from a trip to an old gold-mining town to a foot tour, as he described it, in his broken English, of the "red rock's near of Denver."[15] The couple made such day trips by car; photographs capture



Figs. 36/3–4. Mathilde (Quappi) Beckmann and Max Beckmann halfway up Flagstaff Mountain, 1949. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

Fig. 36/5. Max Beckmann in Colorado, 1949. Max Beckmann Estate, Berlin.

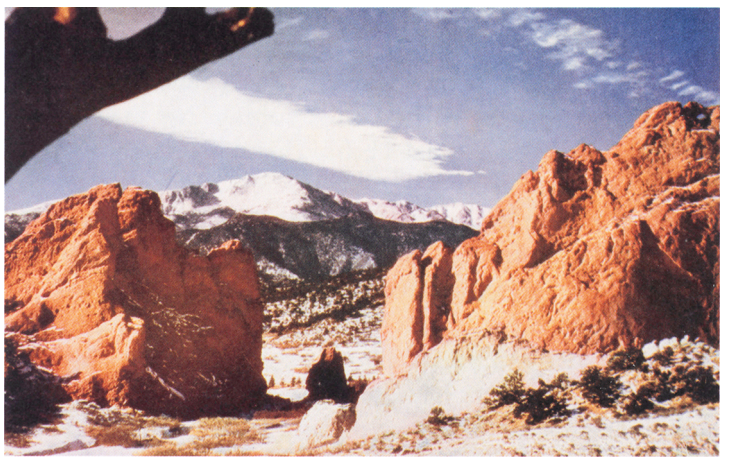


Fig 36/6. Garden of the Gods, Colorado Springs. Postcard. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.

the artist admiring the view from a roadside overlook while leaning against the Studebaker of his American hosts (see fig. 36/5).[16] The excursions often disappointed or frustrated them, especially when drives were long, celebrated sites were overrun with visitors, or sites turned out to be "fake" tourist attractions. The artist referred to one such trip as a "day of walkingdriving" (*Tag des Spazierenfahrens*).[17]

While on these journeys, the Beckmanns took snapshots of rock formations and each other and purchased scenic postcards, printed in the latest, highly artificial Kodachrome color (see fig. 36/6). As the postcards indicate, by the 1940s the Garden of the Gods was already a major draw for tourists, with myriad paths and a visitor's center. Nonetheless, three months after settling permanently in New York, Beckmann drew upon his memories, drawings, photographs, and postcards to create a view of a different landscape, one that evokes the distant past (in fact, the winding river in *Boulder—Rocky Landscape* and in the drawing illustrated here was likely inspired by a paved road[18]). The scene's noticeable lack of human presence and human-made structures and its brutal character, underscored by the rough paint application, have prompted countless descriptions of it as a primeval landscape.[19] Strongly influenced by the writings of Helena P. Blavatsky (see cat. 23), cofounder of the Theosophical Society, Beckmann envisioned America as a colony of the lost land of Atlantis, which theosophists thought had reached its peak between nine hundred thousand and one million years ago.[20] No doubt aware of the artist's interest in ancient civilizations and theosophy, Janson described *Boulder—Rocky Landscape* as "antedeluvian [*sic*] boulders rising abruptly from the bottom of the valley like timeworn monuments of a cyclopean age."[21]

Beckmann composed the painting in a single afternoon and worked on it over the following two months.[22] Morton D. May, who had seen the canvas in early January 1950, purchased it from Curt Valentin later that year.[23]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 251–52.

Cat. 37

The Town (City Night)

1950
Oil on canvas; 64¾ x 75⅛ in. (164.5 x 190.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 868:1983

For nearly the entire month of March 1950, Beckmann gave the large-scale painting *The Town* his undivided attention.[1] Working six- to ten-hour days, he wrote that the canvas "interests me so much that I don't think [about] or do anything else."[2] At the center is a voluptuous female nude, who, despite her peaceful expression, lies on a bed in a contorted position, her arms crossed behind her as if bound. Eyes closed, she appears oblivious to all the activity around her, including that of the five figures ranged behind her. From left to right, they are a blonde half-nude covering one side of her face with her hand; a frowning, bearded male; a turbaned, mustached figure holding a sword; a dark-skinned man who sticks out his tongue and points to the right; and a sorrowful musician with a large, white guitar. At the far right, a group of scantily dressed women and a small, dark figure gather in an entranceway. In the lower right-hand corner is a still life with fruit and a bottle of champagne, most likely Beckmann's favorite brand, Irroy. On the floor in the foreground, from left to right, are three creatures: a long-tailed feline figure sporting a red and blue mailman's cap who holds a letter illuminated by a candle, a crowned naked figure who squats to pick up gold coins from the floor, and a monkey with a mirror. Whether animate or inanimate, the individual components in *The Town* feel oddly, yet purposefully, placed, their incongruous scale relative to one another further frustrating overall pictorial cohesion.

This painting, which so captivated the artist, has mystified viewers, eliciting numerous interpretations. In effect, the reception of the canvas illustrates the iconographical rabbit's hole into which much of the Beckmann scholarship fell until the mid-to-late 1980s. Take, for example, the five characters behind the central figure, whom Quappi Beckmann identified as "beauty" (*Schönheit*). Even she offered two different explanations of the group. In an interview, she described the five, from left to right, as a "lady of easy virtue," a "disappointed one," a "policeman or guard," "[some]one who makes fun of everything," and a "street musician with a white guitar."[3] In her memoirs, the artist's wife described the same group more explicitly as representing threats to the unaware personification of beauty: "the seediness of the prostitute," "the misery of the blind one," "the threat of war," "the farces of life," and "the poverty . . . of the street musician."[4] Lucy Embrick later offered another reading, positing that these figures embody the five senses: sight, smell, touch, taste, and hearing.[5] As for

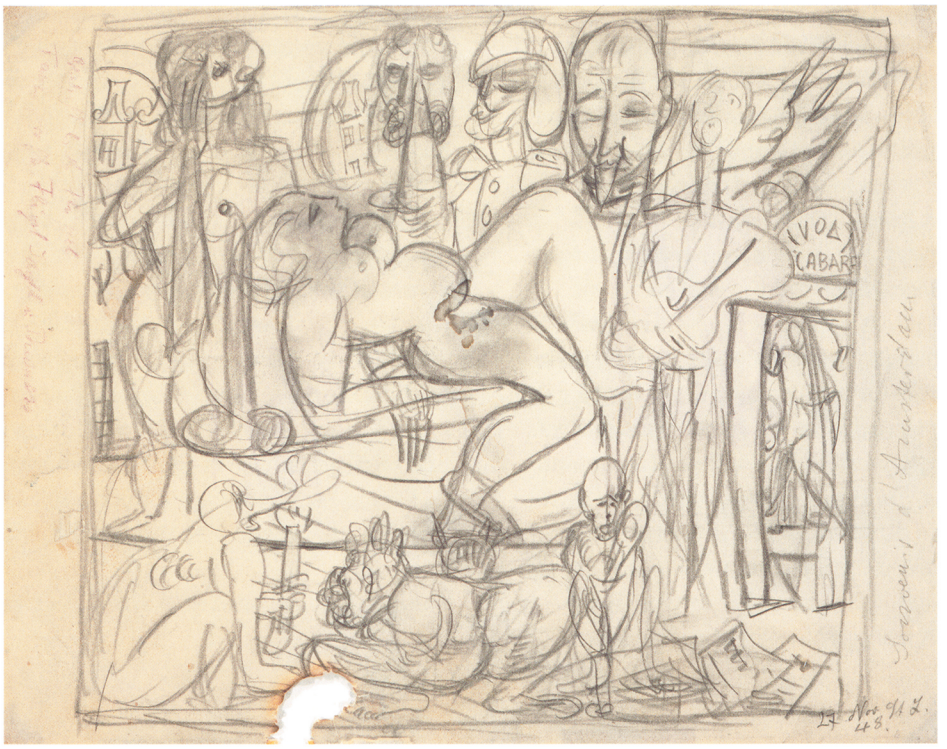


Fig. 37/1. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "The Town (City Night)*," 1948. Graphite on paper; 22.2 x 28.3 cm. Collection of Miriam and Erwin Kelen, Minneapolis. Promised gift to the Walker Art Center, Minneapolis.

the composition's other protagonists, Quappi Beckmann described the crowned nude squatting below the bed as signifying both greed (*Gier*) and vanity (*Eitelkeit*) and the figure at the left as representing impatience (*Ungeduld*), curiosity (*Neugier*), and miserliness (*Geiz*). She referred to the monkey with the mirror as "vanity."[6]

In its array of allegorical references, *The Town* can be seen as a summa of Beckmann's oeuvre, incorporating a number of his favorite motifs, themes, and figure types. For example, the nude at the center—referred to by one recent author as a representation (*Inbild*) of painting[7]—recalls the bound female first seen in *The Prisoners* of 1908 (cat. 6). The ladder at the far left, too short to provide escape, also figures prominently in the artist's oeuvre (see for example cat. 9). As in much of Beckmann's art, the dominant theme of *The Town* is the struggle between the sexes. The setting is a bordello; the three women in the doorway present themselves to passersby; the man in the shadows is their bouncer or pimp.[8] The recumbent woman is surrounded by covetous male suitors, weird creatures, and menacing phallic forms such as the bedposts and the sword.[9] She perhaps embodies the heart of the city itself, being devoured slowly and continually by a wanton band of midnight crawlers.

In his diary, Beckmann gave this painting several related English titles: "Midnight," "Town," and "City Night."[10] In lieu of a standard signature, he inscribed "Mr. M Beckmann, New York, USA." on the envelope held by the strange "mailman." *The Town* has thus been understood as an homage to or, conversely, as a critique of New York City, where the Beckmanns now lived; indeed, the painting's ambiguities likely reflect the artist's ambivalence about his current situation (see the introduction to this chapter).[11] And yet *The Town* originated in an idea that can be traced back to the fall of 1948, a few months after the Beckmanns returned to St. Louis from Amsterdam, where they had spent the summer. In a previously unpublished pencil drawing, dated November 27, 1948 (fig. 37/1), the artist sketched a composition much like that of the present painting. In the sketch, the female nude is more idealized, and the animal-like figures in the foreground are different (for example, the creature at the far left has a duck-like bill). The sheet includes the phrase "Souvenir d'Amsterdam" and buildings with characteristic Dutch gabled rooftops.[12] When he arrived in the United States in 1947, Beckmann was struck by the skyscrapers, describing them as looming overhead like "giants" (*Riesen*). In the present painting, just such "buildings with heads" (*Häuser mit Köpfen*) can be seen in the two arched windows behind the figures (see fig. 37/2).[13] Beckmann added the buildings late in the composition's evolution, after he had declared the painting complete.[14] The drawing also identifies the diminutive entrance to the venue at the far right, which Quappi Beckmann referred to as a bar, with the letters "(VOΔ) Cabara[t] [*sic*]," while the painting features an undecipherable abbreviation, "ABR."[15] In *The Town*, Beckmann translated the bawdy entertainments of Amsterdam he

Fig. 37/2. Max Beckmann. *The Town*. Details showing the skyscrapers at the top.

so loved (see also cat. 30) almost seamlessly into those of New York's Bowery and/or Broadway theater district. "In this arena for the masses," wrote Perry Rathbone, who accompanied the artist to one of his favorite haunts in the Bowery, "vulgarity reigned."[16]

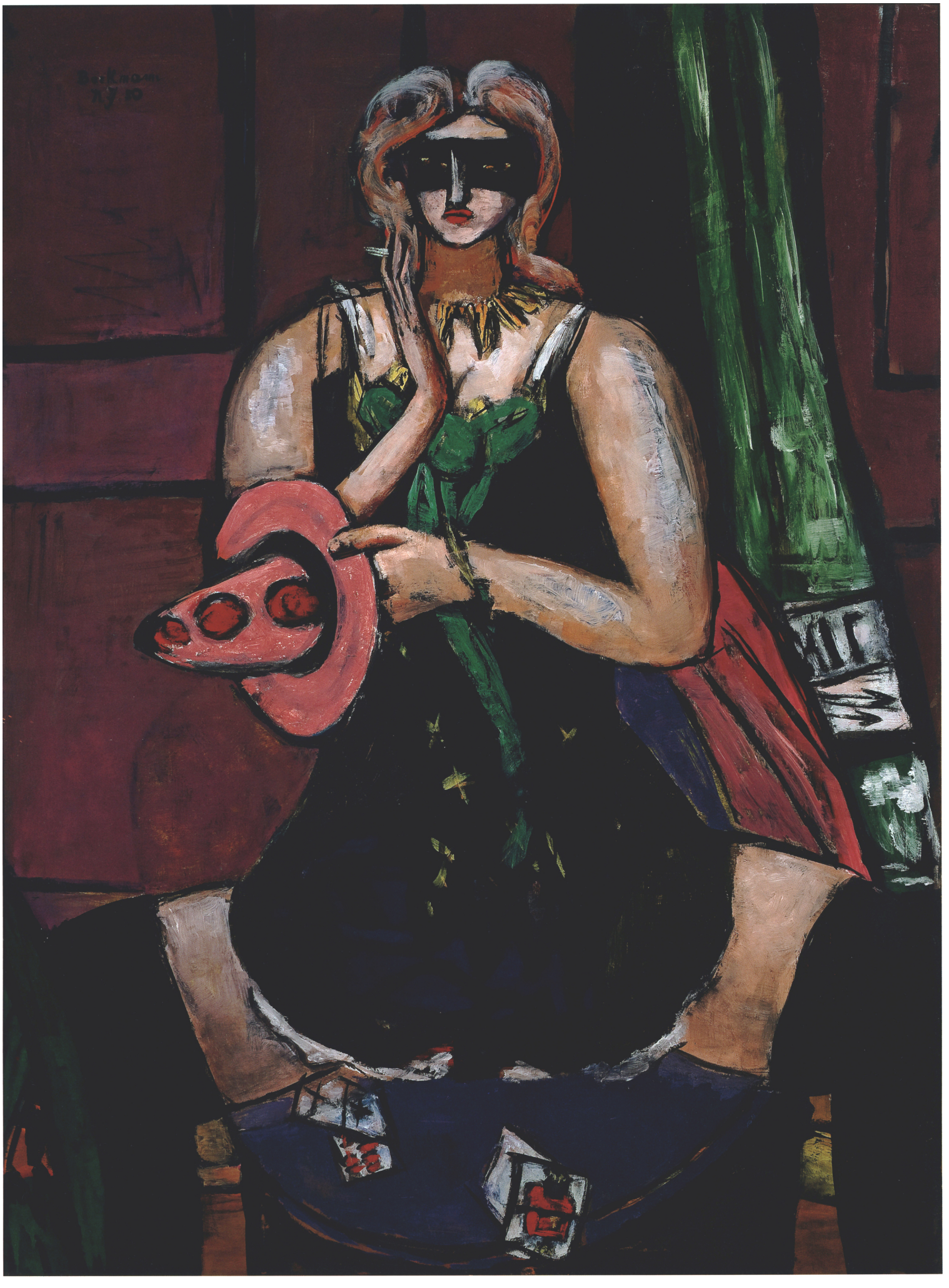
H. W. Janson detected a new formal language—a shift from rectilinear to rounded, bulging forms—in Beckmann's work in the winter of 1949–50. The art historian declared that this new direction culminated in *The Town*, although he found it "disturbingly grotesque and satirical."[17] The painting's palette and handling are particularly striking. Like the headdress of the sword-wielding figure, *The Town* incorporates, as Quappi Beckmann put it, "all the colors of the rainbow."[18] The minimal use of black increases the dissonance of the painting's palette. Because Beckmann did not cover the surface with much pigment, leaving large areas of canvas bare and allowing pentimenti to remain, the work has an almost unfinished quality. Karin von Maur, however, astutely related what she called the painting's "garish colorfulness" (*grelle Buntheit*) and "posterlike flatness" (*plakative Flächenhaftigkeit*) to the look of advertisements in the city.[19]

Morton D. May acquired *The Town* in 1953. He believed that it would "be regarded by future generations as Beckmann's most important single painting," second only to the artist's ambitious triptychs.[20] May was not alone in thinking that the work had the potential to rival the triptychs, in which Beckmann aimed to address social, moral, and artistic issues on a multitude of levels (see cat. 19). The day the artist began work on the painting, Quappi Beckmann noted in her diary that her husband had started a "new triptych 'the City.'"[21] While aspects of *The Town* resemble portions of two unrealized sketches for triptychs, there is no evidence that the artist intended it as one.[22] Despite its ambitious size and scope, *The Town* has not earned the recognition May felt it deserved, with most recent commentators discussing its style only in passing.[23]

The Town was prominently displayed at Curt Valentin's Buchholz Gallery after Beckmann's death, along with canvases displaying a similar palette, all of which date from the last months of the artist's life (see fig. 37/3).[24] May felt so strongly about the significance of the canvas that, to purchase it, he not only paid cash but traded with Quappi Beckmann the first work by the artist that he had acquired, *The Actresses* (1946; fig. 6), along with another painting.[25]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 252–53.

Fig. 37/3. Installation view of "Max Beckmann," Buchholz Gallery, New York, 1951. Max Beckmann Archive, Munich.



Cat. 38

Carnival Mask, Green, Violet, and Pink (Columbine)

1950
Oil on canvas; 53½ x 39⁹⁄₁₆ in. (135.9 x 100.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 867:1983

Carnival Mask, Green, Violet, and Pink (Columbine) is one of a number of large single-figure paintings by Beckmann that do not represent a specific person (see also cat. 20). A masked, blond-haired woman dominates the canvas. Holding a pink clown hat in her left hand and a burning cigarette in her right, she sits splay-legged on a round table with playing cards spread out before her. With her tiny head, massive torso, and ill-proportioned and loosely attached limbs, she resembles a cross between a seductress and a jumping jack. One scholar described her as having been "wrenched apart" and put back together like an "inhuman hieroglyph."[1] At the right, green curtains flung aside reveal nothing but darkness beyond. Only a sign with the word "[e]xit" and two arrows pointing to the right offer a subtle, even feeble, indication of possible escape.[2]

Beckmann considered the relationship between male and female as an unending power struggle. Here the balance has shifted in favor of the female. The enigmatic figure has been called a "femme fatale," a woman who "uses one man after another and then casts him aside like the [cards] on the table."[3] In this woman, Beckmann united the theme of sex with that of death. The protagonist's blond tresses, bright red lips, catlike eyes, and open legs—the latter much like those of a Near Eastern fertility goddess—may be alluring, but the figure's dominance over the pictorial space, her aggressive pose, crossed arms, and cold facial expression (along with the anonymity her mask provides) are menacing. Carla Schulz-Hoffmann likened her clothing to "impenetrable armor."[4] Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer compared her pose to that of Kali, the Hindu goddess of death, interpreting the black crosses on the playing cards as another signal of death and the arrows as pointing to the afterlife.[5]

Pentimenti, or visible traces of changes (especially in the lower half of the painting), and Beckmann's diary confirm that he repeatedly revised and retitled this work over a period of four to eight months. He called it alternately "Yellow Stockings," "Yellow Woman in Black," and "Yellow Pierette," once exclaiming: "Totally crazy way—completely reworked "Yellow Stockings" again. Na – Jesus Christ!"[6] Although its final title reflects the dissonant palette of green, violet, and pink, the yellow applied during earlier formulations is visible through the intricate layering of paint. After the artist's death, the painting was primarily called *Columbine*, referring to the sweetheart of Harlequin, a popular comic servant character from the Italian commedia dell'arte.[7] In 1957 *Carnival Mask* was included in an exhibition of portraits by Beckmann at the Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York, alongside the likenesses of Ludwig Berger (cat. 23) and Fred Conway (cat. 34). The painting bore the title *Mlle. D.*[8] While the gallery created this moniker to suggest that the work is indeed a portrait, its vagueness underscores the degree to which this mysterious figure defies categorization.[9]

Ironically, the composition actually originated as a portrait of a specific person. An X-ray of the canvas reveals a full-length view of a man leaning against a chair and holding a folded journal (fig. 38/1). The subject is Fritz Wichert (1878–1951), director of the Frankfurter Schule für freie und angewandte Kunst (Frankfurt School of Free and Industrial Art), also known as the Städelschule, where Beckmann taught from 1925 until 1933 (see Chapter 3).[10] The uncommissioned work was painted in 1927, exhibited in 1938, and sometime thereafter, according to Beckmann's picture list, "destroyed."[11] Small and thin, Wichert is dwarfed by the giant plant behind him. The journal bears what appears to be the letters "UE FRAN"—a portion of *Das Neue Frankfurt* (The New Frankfurt), which Wichert published. Rather than remove the previous painting before beginning another, as was often his custom, Beckmann transformed Wichert's likeness into that of his masked female protagonist.[12] The noticeably high forehead and parted hair shared by both figures can be seen in pencil drawings the artist did of Wichert (see fig. 38/2).[13] Beckmann also retained the diminutive size of Wichert's head and position of the left hand and thumb. He replaced the plant and other background objects with a purple paneled wall. If the canvas has long been known as exemplary of the battle of sexes, its transformation from a portrait of a man into a femme fatale only confirms her victory.[14]

The painting remained in the collection of the artist until his death, when it passed to his widow. Morton D. May purchased *Carnival Mask* in 1968.[15]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PAGES 253–54.

Fig. 38/1. Max Beckmann. *Carnival Mask*. X-ray showing the portrait of Fritz Wichert.

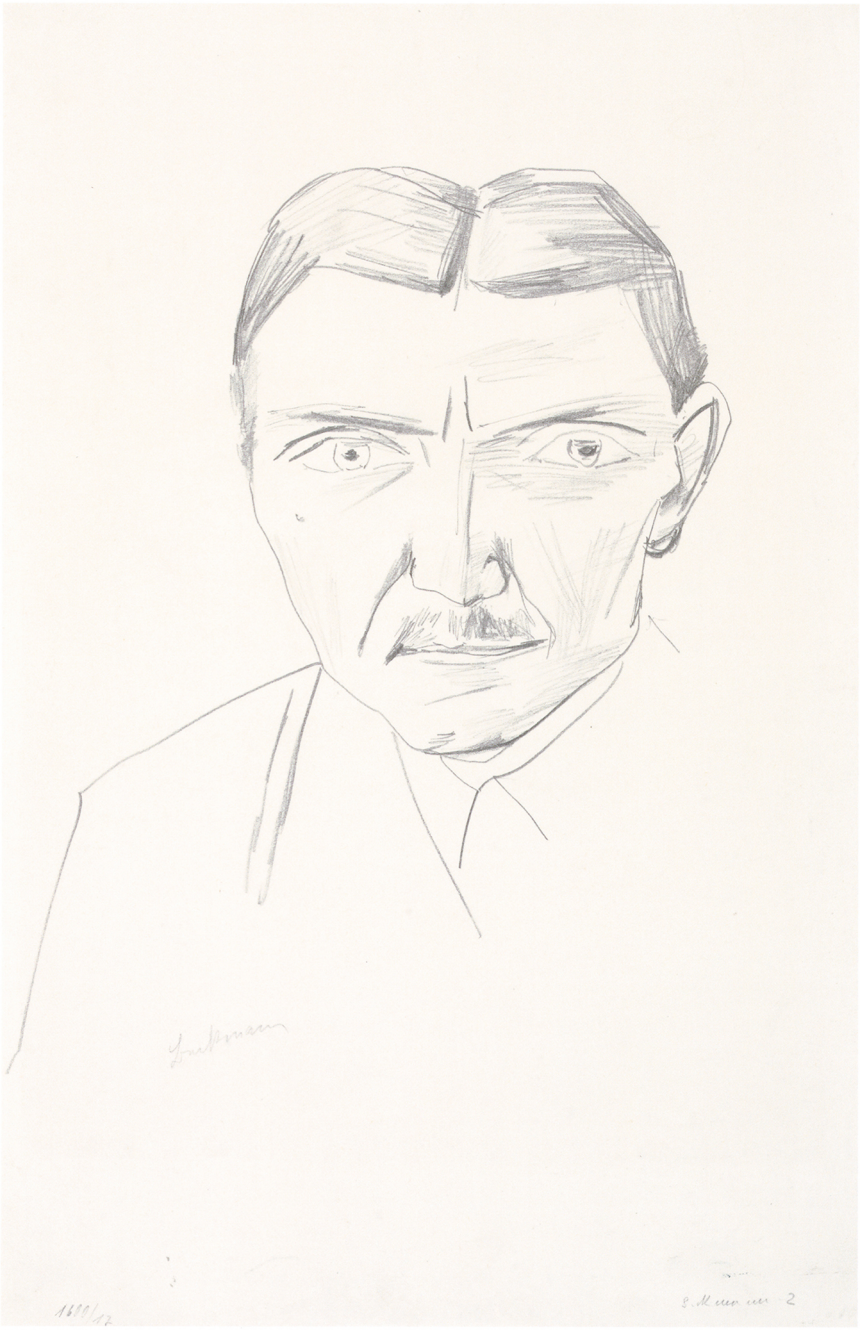


Fig. 38/2. Max Beckmann. *Sketch for "Portrait of Fritz Wichert*," c. 1927. Graphite on paper; 48 x 32 cm. Gemeentemuseum Den Haag.

Cat. 39

Self-Portrait 1950

1950
Oil on canvas; 55⅛ x 36 in. (140 x 91.4 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 866:1983

Over the course of his career, Beckmann painted upward of forty self-portraits.[1] In *Self-Portrait 1950*, his last, the artist stands facing forward in his New York studio, near the tacking edge of a reversed canvas that extends from the top of his right shoulder (he habitually turned his canvases to the wall when not working on them).[2] At the bottom left, a wall molding marks an opening into a dark space. Beckmann's left arm rests on a green chair back as he lifts a cigarette to his mouth. His right hand is thrust into his trousers pocket. In 1951 H. W. Janson noted that the "symbolic accessories" so typical of the artist's numerous portrayals of himself are missing here.[3] Indeed, he initially intended to depict himself in the present work as an acrobat, a recurring alter ego in his oeuvre (see cat. 20), but quickly changed his mind.[4] Nonetheless, the choice of clothing, act of smoking, and the deceptively simple setting of this portrait are not without significance.

This portrait has been the subject of extensive scrutiny, and yet commentators have reached little consensus. In the English edition of the catalogue for a retrospective exhibition in 1984–85, James Burke discerned in the 1950 painting "strength of personality and stylistic verve."[5] Some scholars have interpreted the bright colors of Beckmann's dashing attire—orange shirt, burgundy vest, and blue jacket—as reflecting the casual way his American contemporaries dressed; the artist Fred Conway wears clothes of similar colors in Beckmann's portrait of him (cat. 34).[6] Largely because of the vitality of the palette, the painting has been seen as conveying strength and the "renewed self-assurance" that comes with recognition.[7] In 1950 Beckmann had, of course, every reason to feel self-assured. He was winning distinguished awards, he was sought after as a teacher, and his work was being widely exhibited. In fact, *Self-Portrait 1950* debuted at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (see the introduction to this chapter).

Beckmann typically portrayed himself casually holding a cigarette between his fingertips, as in his 1927 *Self-Portrait in Tuxedo* (fig. 21), a painting that is often compared to *Self-Portrait 1950*.[8] Both are the same size and situate the artist near a dark opening, and both can be seen as statements of self-assurance (a bourgeois dandy in 1927, a confident American in 1950). However, while, in the earlier painting, the cigarette is an accoutrement that lends a note of casual elegance, the later work depicts the act of inhaling, which obscures the smoker's mouth, an important vehicle of facial expression.[9] Moreover, the artist's pose in the later painting is tense and his gaze averted. One scholar recently went as far as to consider the 1950 portrait a "sinister quotation" of the earlier one.[10] For this painting only, the German edition of the 1984–85 retrospective mentioned above published a notably different entry than that in the English edition. This entry's author, Cornelia Stabenow, characterized Beckmann's image of himself as anonymous and wondered whether the artist still possessed "creative power" (*Gestaltungskraft*).[11] Others have questioned the degree of authenticity in this likeness. In 1964 John Canaday, calling Beckmann a "stylist," expressed discomfort with the portrait's "unwelcome degree of artifice."[12] David Ehrenpreis felt similarly: he wrote that, although Beckmann's brightly colored clothes make him appear "more casual, more American than ever before," this informality feels forced, "unconvincing."[13] However, as Stephan Lackner correctly observed, *Self-Portrait 1950* constitutes "a reflective stock-taking of self"[14] and expresses the very ambivalence of an accomplished artist who found himself approaching old age in a new and challenging world.

Beginning in January 1950, Beckmann tracked in his diary the often-harried five months during which he completed this canvas. A number of compositional changes revealed by pentimenti suggest indecision. The figure's right arm originally stretched across his torso. His hand was not in his pocket, but rather held an object Beckmann referred to as a hat.[15] An X-ray shows a form that resembles a brimmed hat but also reveals circular shapes that look like grapes (fig. 39/1). A crown molding was initially situated near artist's head, and the space to the left was more clearly defined. Beckmann's shoulders were larger, expanding and strengthening the effect of his frame. In the final composition, the artist's body has diminished to such an extent that it seems lost in the clothing.[16]

Beckmann's writings and correspondence reveal mixed emotions about life in the United States (see the introduction to this chapter), which relate in part to his failing health. In late 1949, he mentioned being surprised, while walking down the street, by his reflection. Although he claimed to feel good, at age sixty-five Beckmann described himself as "old and shabby."[17] The frailty one detects in the painting is expressed in the artist's diary, where he described having reworked the canvas one day "to the point of exhaustion."[18] The circumspect mood of the portrait led Reinhard Spieler to see *Self-Portrait 1950* as not only a summing up of the artist's life and career, but also a premonition of his impending death.[19]Although Janson credited the absence of any symbolic accessories as contributing to the portrait's immediacy, Beckmann appears here much as the art historian described his self-portraits from the 1930s and 1940s (see for example cat. 18): "a prophet or witness to tragic experience,"[20] which, in the case of his last depiction of himself, is that of a senescent artist facing mortality in a foreign land.

In May 1950, Beckmann showed the recently completed self-portrait to Curt Valentin; the dealer did not initially indicate interest in purchasing the work, and the artist described himself that day as "tired and disappointed."[21] When the portrait was exhibited posthumously at Valentin's Buchholz Gallery in 1951, it belonged to Quappi Beckmann and was not for sale.[22] Morton D. May had long sought to acquire a self-portrait as part of his comprehensive collection of Beckmann's art.[23] The artist's widow finally agreed to sell May the portrait in 1959.[24]

FOR DOCUMENTATION AND NOTES, SEE PP. 254–55.

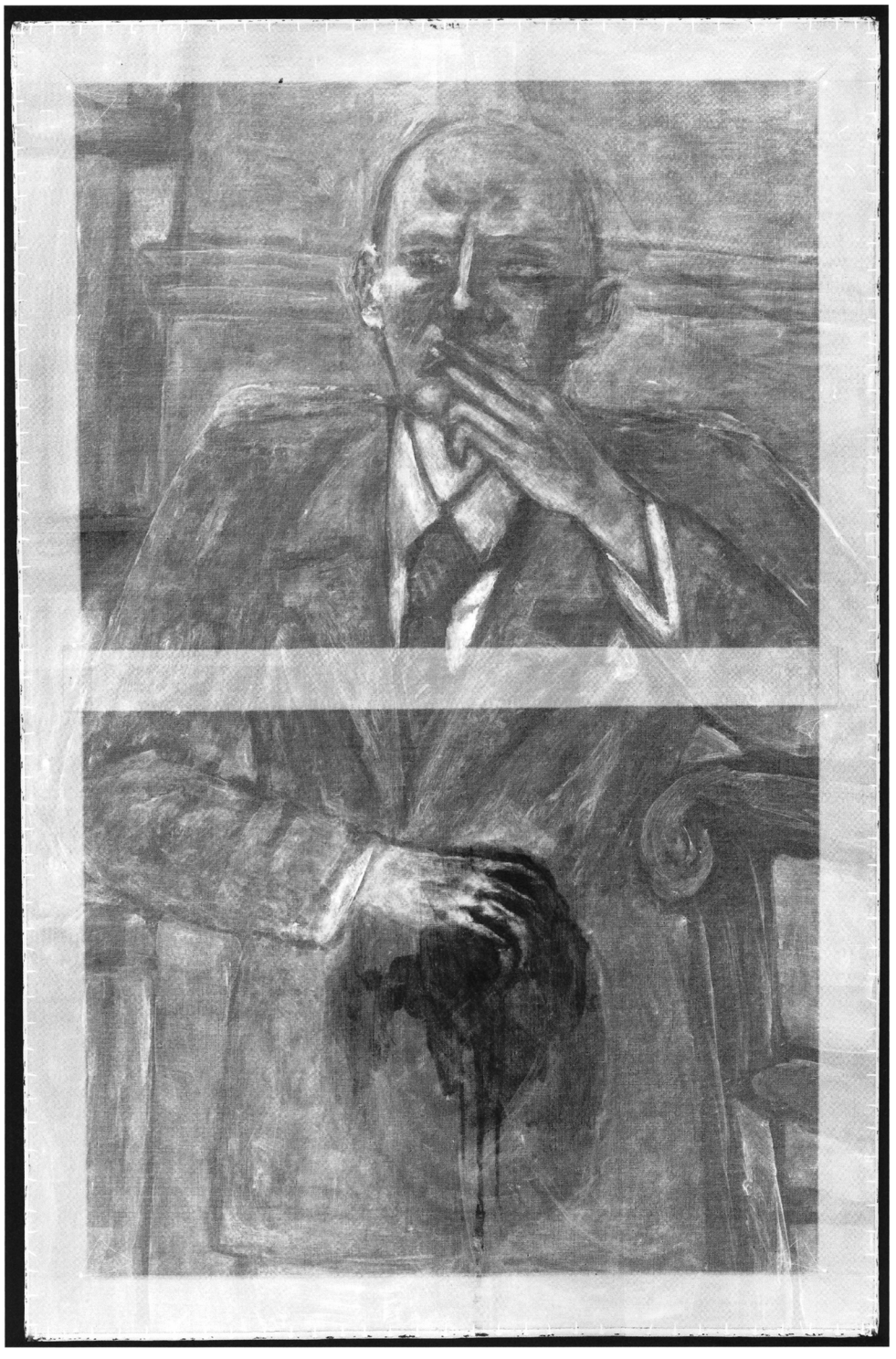


Fig. 39/1. Max Beckmann, *Self-Portrait 1950*. X-ray showing changes made during the painting's execution.

Documentation and Notes

Cats. 35–39

Cat. 35
Large Still Life Interior (Blue), 1949

Oil on canvas; 56⅜ x 35¼ in. (143.2 x 89.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 863:1983
Signed and dated, l.c.: *Beckmann / NY 49*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Blue Interior*, *Grande Nature Morte en Bleu* (Large Still Life in Blue), *Large Interior Still Life*, *Large Interior Still Life (Blue)*, *Large Still Life*, *Large Still Life/Interior (Blue)*, *Large Still Life with Flower in Vase on Red Table*, *Large Still Life with Red Table* (*Grosses Stilleben mit rotem Tisch*), *Still Life with Red Table*, *Still Life with Red Tablecloth*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On stretcher, u.c., on browned tape, in ink: *2/1*
On frame, u.l., on browned label, typed: *34—LARGE STILL LIFE WITH FLOWER / IN VASE ON RED TABLE—Beckman* [*sic*]; c.r., in black crayon: *4560*; l.c., in black crayon: *#2582* [upside down]

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. In 1959 mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint application thin and even with lean vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture visible throughout. Black paint varies between matte and glossy. Colors slightly glossy. Some localized impasto. Very fragile and susceptible to breakage. Paint has history of lifting. Some paint loss. In 1983 lifting paint was consolidated using wax resin adhesive. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1959 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 1983 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing layer. In 1985 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold (Buchholz Gallery [Curt Valentin], New York), Jan. 4, 1950, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1949 New York: 19) Grosses Stilleben Interieur (blau) angef. am 19. Sept. beend 20 Okt. Buster May bought 13. Nov. 49*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 801, vol. 1, pp. 486–87, 537, 548, 554; vol. 2, p. 299 (ill.).

LITERATURE: MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1949: Sept. 19, Oct. 1, 7, 21, Nov. 13, 15; pp. 338, 341–42, 345, 349. Lackner 1962, pp. 22, [23], pl. 10 (color). Buenger 1979, pp. 272–73, 467 (fig. 180). Spieler 1995, p. 167 (color ill.), 170–71, 181. Selz 1996, pp. 88 (fig. 82), 89. Kienle 2008, pp. 118, 119 (fig. 76 [color]), 120. Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 63 (fig. 70 [color]).

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago 1951, cat. 34, n.pag. Milwaukee 1954–55, cat. 4, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). Hanover, N.H. 1957 (no cat.). Kansas City, Mo. 1959, cat. 4, p. 1. Madison 1959, cat. 2, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1960, cat. 82, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 88, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 87, n.pag. Bloomington, Ind. 1966, cat. 14., n.pag. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 43, p. 10. Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 103, pp. 50–51; Munich 1968–69, cat. 98, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969, cat. 103, pp. 50–51. Bremen 1969b, cat. E13, n.pag.; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 42, p. 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 51, pp. 17, 87 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 125, pp. 31, 314 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 1, 27 (ill.), 28. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 62, pp. 29 (ill.), 192, 193 (color ill.), 233. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 55, pp. 49 (color ill.), 50, 232.

NOTES
1. Anabelle Kienle suggested convincingly that Beckmann's studio doors (with glass panes and covered in a light-colored cloth) served as inspiration. Kienle 2008, p. 118. The frontality of the open door in the painting makes it appear to be a sliding door, which in fact it was not.
2. For the newspaper, Beckmann used a white different from that used for the fur stole or throw. The white of the stole and highlights of flowers are visible in the X-ray; the white in the nearest vase, flooring, and newspaper is not.
3. The painting (Musée National d'Art Moderne, Centre Georges Pompidou, Paris) was reproduced in 1948 in a special issue of *Verve* devoted to Matisse. Buenger 1979, pp. 272–73, 467 (fig. 181). See Herschel B. Chipp and Alan Wofsy, eds., *Picasso's Paintings, Watercolors, Drawings and Sculpture: Nazi Occupation 1940–1944* (San Francisco: Alan Wofsy, 1999), p. 374, no. 44–146. Reinhard Spieler compared the St. Louis painting to Picasso's 1944 *Tomato Plant*, seeing in both a contrast between vegetal and structural elements. Spieler 1995, p. 167. See also St. Louis et al. 1998–99, pp. 48–50. *Tomato Plant*, one of nine the artist made of the subject, was exhibited at the Durand-Ruel Galleries, New York, in 1948 and purchased that same year by St. Louis collectors Mr. and Mrs. Vladimir Golschmann. Christie's, sale cat., Nov. 8, 2006, lot 7. Golschmann was music director of the Saint Louis Symphony Orchestra during Beckmann's time in that city. Philip Guston, whose position at Washington University Beckmann filled, was familiar with Golschmann's art collection, and it is likely that the German painter was as well. Dore Ashton, *A Critical Study of Philip Guston* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), p. 73.
4. Cornelia Homburg suggested that both Beckmann and Picasso likely "concentrated on still lifes whenever they were not engaged in projects of large-scale compositions or portraits." She did note, however, that some still lifes by both artists became more "ambitious" works. St. Louis 1998–99, p. 46. Nina Peter convincingly challenged the view that Beckmann also used landscape painting as an escape. Peter 1993.
5. See Roth 2011–12.
6. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 15, 1949, p. 349. The unpublished diary notes the price as reduced to $1,500 (Beckmann had wanted $2,500). MB, diary, Columbia University, New York. His 1949 income list (Notebook 3, Columbia University, New York) specifies that he received $1,050, implying that Curt Valentin's cut may have been $450 ("Blau Stilleben 1949 an Buster 15. Nov. / $1050"). May's accession record lists Jan. 4, 1950, as the date of sale, likely when the Buchholz Gallery received payment. May Archives, SLAM. Beckmann noted in his diary that Valentin visited his studio the day before May did. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 14, 1949, p. 349. Valentin found "the two still lifes . . . especially beautiful" and bought what he considered "the best one outright," namely *Large Still Life with Sculpture* (1949; Göpel 797). CV to Perry Rathbone, Nov. 19, 1949, Perry Rathbone Papers, AAA, Washington, D.C.
7. MDM, lecture, Apr. 7, 1975, Weatherspoon Guild, Greensboro, N.C. Morton D. May Albums; presented to the museum by Lucia P. May; SLAM Archives.

Cat. 36
Boulder—Rocky Landscape, 1949

Oil on canvas; 55¼ x 36⅛ in. (140.3 x 91.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 865.1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / 49 B*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Boulder Landscape with Rocks*, *Colorado Landscape (Colorado-Landschaft)*, *Landscape in Boulder*, *Landschaft in Colorado* (Landscape in Colorado)

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas, u.r., l.c., two identical black stamps: *ROWNEY'S / "X" QUALITY / HAND PRIMED CANVAS / MADE IN ENGLAND*
On stretcher, u.l., in graphite: *I* [encircled]; u.l., in graphite: *2* [encircled]; u.l., on beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 EAST 57th STREET, NEW YORK / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *Colorado Landscape.1950 /* [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann /* [printed:] *MEDIUM & SIZE* [typed:] *Oil 55 x 36"* [in ink:] *173 /* [printed:] *No. /* [typed:] *11560*; u.l., in graphite: *Kat Nr 173*; u.l., on red-striped label, in red ink: *E1351.2*; six identical red stamps, u.r., l.c., u.c., c.c. [upside down], c.r. c.l. [sideways]: *TREATED / ANCO BILT IS WELL BUILT / ANCO INC., GLENDALE, N.Y.*; u.r., in graphite: *64:387*; u.r., in graphite: *32/16*; u.r., in graphite: *57 / 22¼ / 79¼*; c.l., in graphite: [drawing of vertical rectangle, divided in half] */ Fr. Harris / N.Y.C. / 36 x 55 /* [sideways]; c.r., in graphite: *Granick*; l.l., on small circular sticker: *E / 6614 / 2*; l.r., in blue crayon: *J.K.I. 93* [encircled]
On frame, u.c., in black crayon: *#35*[. . . obscured by label] *8*[possibly "0"]; u.c., on masking tape, in blue crayon: *K.7.*; u.r., on masking tape, in blue ink: *3 / 1*; u.r., on browned label, in black ink: *173*; c.r., in red crayon: *K7*; l.c., in red crayon: *K7*; l.r., in blue crayon: *I*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION
Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original Anco Bilt wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint applied thinly and evenly with lean vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture visible throughout. Black paint varies between matte and gloss. Colors slightly glossy. Some localized impasto. Very fragile and susceptible to breakage. Paint has history of lifting. Some paint loss. In 1993 lifting paint was consolidated using Beva 371 adhesive. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1959 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 1983 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing layer. In 1985 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; sold, Jan. 24, 1950, to Buchholz Gallery (Curt Valentin), New York; sold, July 5, 1950, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1949 New York: 25) Boulderfelslandschaft angef. 7. November Abends beendet 10. Dez Valentin bought 24.1.50 May*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 802, vol. 1, pp. 487, 537, 546, 554; vol. 2, p. 300 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Janson 1951, pp. 91 (ill.), 92. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1949: Nov. 7, 18, 22, 27, Dec. 10, 13, 14, 30; Jan. 24, 1950; pp. 348, 350–51, 353–54, 356, 360. Cologne 1984, cat. 75, betw. pp. 176 and 177 (color ill.), 315. Westheider 1995, pp. 111–12, n.pag., fig. 32. Paris et al. 2002–3, p. 314 (ill.). Kienle 2008, p. 125 (fig. 81 [color]). Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. 22, 300–1, [425] (fig. 74). Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 57 (fig. 66 [color]), 58, 184, 188, 256.

EXHIBITIONS: Chicago 1951, cat. 38, n.pag.[24] Munich et al. 1951, cat. 173, pp. [50] (fig. 33), 54; Amsterdam 1951–52, cat. 83, p. 27, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1952, cat. 3, p. 9. St. Louis 1954 (no cat.). Milwaukee 1954–55, cat. 1, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). Kansas City, Mo. 1959, cat. 3, p. 1. St. Louis 1960, cat. 80, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 86, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 85, n.pag. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 73, p. 151. Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 69, n.pag., fig. 67. London 1965, cat. 71, p. 30. Nashville et al. 1966, cat. 22, n.pag., ill. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 41, p. 10. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 29, pp. 12, 57 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 29, pp. 12, 57 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 29, pp. 12, 57 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 29, pp. 12, 57 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 29, pp. 12, 57 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 41, pp. 25 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 53, pp. 17–18, 89 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 127, pp. 67, 316 (color ill.), 374, 470. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, p. 30 (ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 63, pp. 30, 194, 195 (color ill.), 233. Hamburg et al. 1998–99, cat. 82, pp. 42, 60–61, 115, 127 (color ill.), 184.

NOTES

1. Janson 1951, p. 92.
2. Beatrice von Bormann recently clarifed that only six of the eight landscapes completed during the artist's years in the U.S. were actually inspired by American topography. Two are reworked canvases from an earlier period. Bormann 2011–12, p. 52, n. 8.
3. In correspondence with the author, Barbara Buenger proposed that the mountains in the distance are the Flatirons, close to Boulder, which have come to symbolize the city. The individual peaks are not freestanding as in the present painting. See also the distant mountain range in the drawing *Park in Boulder, Colorado*. Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 188, 189 (color ill.). The snowcapped Rocky Mountains are visible from certain areas of the city as well.
4. Franz Roh, "Beckmann als Landschafter," *Die Kunst und das schöne Heim* 50 (1952), p. 15. ". . . eher alles von unten nach oben abzulesen ist, statt daß man sich vom Vordergrunde in die lösende Ferne verlöre." Carla Schulz-Hoffmann emphasized the landscape's abstracted and uninviting quality as key to its "inaccessible grandeur." St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 316.
5. Roh (note 4), p. 15. ". . . gigantischen Gewirk von senk-und waagerechten Farbenfeldern: Rostrot, Violett, Lehmfraben, Mennigrot, Gelb und Blau verzahnen sich in Keilen."
6. Information courtesy of Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
7. On Aug. 27, 1949, Quappi Beckmann noted that her husband had drawn a self-portrait (judging from Beckmann's diary, it can be identified as *Self-Portrait with Rope* (1949; University of Michigan Museum of Art, Ann Arbor), no. 17 in what she called the "Boulder Series" (*Boulder Serie*). MQB, diary, AAA, Washington, D.C.
8. Quappi Beckmann recorded in her diary that the couple had "climbed quite high on wild paths" (*stiegen ziemlich hoch auf wilden Wegen*) in a nearby forest on July 23 and that Beckmann made his first large drawing (since their arrival) the following day. The drawing illustrated here (fig. 36/2) is signed and dated July 24, 1949, but Beckmann likely made it on July 25. Quappi Beckmann mentioned only one drawing having been executed on July 24; the artist recorded that as *Meeting of the god's* [*sic*] in his diary. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, July 25, 1949, p. 329. See also Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 186. On July 25, Quappi Beckmann mentioned another drawing, which she called *Rocks of Colorado*. For all of her diary citations, see note 7. Beckmann also mentioned a drawing of the Rocky Mountains in his diary that day. MB, ibid. This is illustrated here as fig. 36/2.
9. Rathbone 1964–65, p. 124.
10. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, July 28, 1949, p. 330. See also MQB (note 7). On the back of the photo of herself, Quappi Beckmann noted that she was the one who needed "a short rest." MB Estate, Berlin.
11. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 11, 1949, p. 332. ". . . die roten-Riesenfeldern-Gespenster haben uns nicht erwischt." This is a reference to the "red rocks" near the couple's home, also mentioned by Quappi Beckmann on July 9. MQB (note 7).
12. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 21, 1949, p. 333. "Eine Tour die mein Herz wieder für die alte Natur wieder mal recht intensive geweckt hat."
13. Hamburg 1965, fig. 67, n.pag. Charles Haxthausen rightly questioned this strict identification. He credited Stephan Lackner as having referred to the Garden of the Gods but did not provide a source. Haxthausen 1985, p. 30. According to Quappi Beckmann, it is a "combination of several impressions." MQB, cited in Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 487.
14. Forster-Hahn 2007a, p. 22. An extended version of this essay appeared as Forster-Hahn 2007b. The photograph, illustrated in Forster-Hahn 2007b, p. 9, was not taken in Colorado, as noted there, but on a visit to Meramec Caverns in Missouri (see intro. to this chap.).
15. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, July 17, 1949, p. 328. The Beckmanns went to the mining town Central City on July 1, as well as to Boulder Canyon and Nederland and its lake. MQB (note 7). In addition to the area near their lodging, Quappi Beckmann's diary (note 7) mentions the following destinations: July 4, by car to the Rocky Mountains via Estes Park and a canyon; July 17, by car to a volcano and then on to Eldorado Springs, followed by "Red Rock Theater" with its gigantic rock formations; July 30, Denver and dinosaur skeletons; Aug. 3, Silver Plume via Buffalo Bill's grave; Aug. 21, Colorado Springs and Garden of the Gods, where the Beckmanns were photographed with "real Indians" (*echte Indianer*) (see fig. 39).
16. Beckmann noted with surprise in his diary that they drove nine hours that day with their host, Leslie Merrill, Instructor of Fine Arts at the University of Colorado at Boulder: "If someone had told me that a half a year ago" ("Wer mir das vor einem Jahr gesagt hätte"), Beckmann exclaimed, inferring that he would never have believed traveling such distances in a single day. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Aug. 21, 1949, p. 333. Quappi Beckmann's diary identifies Merrill as having curated the Beckmann exhibition in Boulder that summer (see intro. to this chap.). Also along was Eleanor Lindstrom, Assistant Professor of Fine Arts (whom Quappi Beckmann referred to in her diary as "Miß Lindstrom" and "Lindy" [note 7]) and her mother. See Student/Faculty Directory for the University of Colorado, 1949/50. Information courtesy of Archives, University of Colorado at Boulder Libraries.
17. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, July 30, 1949, p. 330.
18. Beckmann was attracted to well-maintained parks located in natural landscapes, as seen in his drawing *Park in Boulder, Colorado*, executed around the same time (see note 3).
19. Reinhard Spieler associated Beckmann's landscapes after 1930 with visions of a mythical, primordial world (*Urlandschaft*). Spieler, "Mythos und Urform—die späten Landschaften," in Hamburg et al. 1998–99, pp. 57–65. See also Kienle 2008, pp. 124–27.
20. For more on Beckmann's interest in America as it relates to Atlantis and the writings of Blavatsky and other influential nineteenth-century theorists such as Ignatius Donnelly, see Harter 2011–12, pp. 252–59, esp. 256–59.
21. Janson 1951, p. 92.
22. Beckmann described the execution of the initial design as having happened "suddenly almost against my will" ("plötzlich fast gegen meinen Willen"). MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Nov. 7, 1949, p. 348. Even though the artist's picture list notes that he finished the canvas on Dec. 10, the diary reveals that he returned to it again on the 13th, 14th, and 30th of that month.
23. Valentin's purchase of the canvas is noted in MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Jan. 24, 1950, p. 360. Beckmann's 1950 income list confirms that Beckmann sold this painting and two others to Valentin on that day for a total of $4,000. MB, diary, Columbia University, New York. The artist showed *Boulder—Rocky Landscape* to Morton D. May in his studio on Jan. 9, but May did not purchase it at that time. MB, diary, Jan. 9, 1950, in ibid. After its sale to May on July 5, 1950 (the date of the Buchholz Gallery invoice to May; May Archives, SLAM), Valentin referred to the painting in a letter to the artist as "owned by CV [Curt Valentin]." CV to MB, Sept. 1, 1950, Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.5, Archives, MoMA.
24. May's copy of the catalogue for Chicago 1951—an exhibition of his collection—includes a handwritten mention of *Boulder—Rocky Landscape*. May Archives, SLAM.

Cat. 37
The Town (City Night), 1950

Oil on canvas; 64¾ x 75⅛ in. (164.5 x 190.8 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 868.1983
Signed, l.l., on envelope held by crouching figure: *Mr. / M Beckmann / New York / USA*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *City Night* (*Stadtnacht*), *The Town*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. In 1983 original support was lined onto a medium-weight linen using Bareco Victory 155 microcrystalline wax and Zonarez B-85 resin adhesive 3:1 and was mounted onto a wood (Muleski) stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder.

Paint layer: Oil. Paint applied thinly and evenly with paste vehicular consistency. Brush texture and canvas weave visible throughout. Black and other colors vary between matte and gloss. Thin black washes applied over opaque colors. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1959 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Vinylite AYAF varnish applied. In 1983 Acryloid B-72 varnish was applied over existing layer. In 1985 varnish was removed. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde Q. Beckmann, New York; consigned, 1953, Curt Valentin Gallery, Inc. (formerly Buchholz Gallery), New York, sold, Jan. 15, 1953, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1950 New York / Fortsetzung: 9) The Town* (*City Night*) *angef. 5.III.50 beendet. 25.III.50*

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 817, vol. 1, pp. 497, 538, 543, 554; vol. 2, p. 305 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Chicago 1951, no. 37, n.pag.[26] Janson 1951, p. 92. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1950: Mar. 5, 8, 10, 12, 14, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, 25, Apr. 8, 9, May 4; pp. 365–68, 370, 374, 391. Fischer 1972, p. 21. Buenger 1979, pp. 282–85, 470 (fig. 187). Lackner 1983, pp. 88 (color ill.), 90, 95. MQB, *Mein Leben* 1983, pp. 131, 163–65, 227. Cologne 1984, pp. 44 (fig. 1), 124. Göpel (1955) 1984, pp. 51, 53 (ill.). Erpel 1985, cat. 175/C, pp. 356, [357] (fig. 276). Frankfurt 1990–91, pp. 19, 48. Schulz-Hoffmann 1991, pp. [166] (fig. 82 [color]), 175. Rathbone 1995, pp. 50–51 (ill.). Spieler 1995, p. 183 (color ill.). Cologne 2005, pp. 113, 119. Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 325. Kienle 2008, pp. 78, 79 (fig. 27 [color]), 80, 131–33. Basel 2011–12, p. 209.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1951a, cat. 12, n.pag., ill. Zurich 1955–56, cat. 140, p. 35. Basel 1956, cat. 128, p. 35; The Hague 1956, cat. 107, n.pag. St. Louis 1956 (no cat.). St. Louis 1960, cat. 86, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 93, n.pag.; Denver 1960, cat. 91, n.pag. Darmstadt 1963, pp. 98, 99 (ill.). Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 48, p. 10. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 31, pp. 12, 59 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 31, pp. 12, 59 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 31, pp. 12, 59 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 31, pp. 12, 59 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 31, pp. 12, 59 (color ill.); Vienna 1968–69, cat. 44, pp. 24 (color ill.), 51. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 57, pp. 18–19, 93 (color ill.). Fort Lauderdale 1983, cat. 32, n.pag., color ill. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 131, pp. 108, 165, 320 (color ill.), 321, 471. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 32, 33 (ill.); Raleigh 1986, n.pag., ill. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 64, pp. 33, 196–97, 198 (color ill.), 234. Los Angeles et al. 1997–98, cat. 19, pp. 64, 65 (fig. 44 [color]), 402. St. Louis 2001 (no cat.). Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 316, 329 (color ill.), 404 (Paris only). Frankfurt 2011–12, cat. 87, pp. 80, 204–6, 208 (color ill.), 253.

RELATED WORK: Fig. 37/1

NOTES

1. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Mar. 5–25, 1950, pp. 365–68. See also MQB, diaries, AAA, Washington, D.C. The artist added the skyscrapers in April (see note 13).
2. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Mar. 10, 1950, p. 366. ". . . interessiert mich so, dass ich nichts anderes denke und tue."
3. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 164. Quappi Beckmann discussed *The Town* in a 1956 interview with Erhard and Barbara Göpel. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 497. "Freudenmädchen; der Entäuschte; der Polizist oder die Wache; einer, der sich über alles lustig macht; ein Straßensänger mit weisser Gitarre."
4. Beckmann MQ 1983, pp. 163–65. "die Schäbigkeit der Prostituierten; den Jammer des Blinden; die Bedrohung durch Krieg; die Farcen, die das Leben spielt; die Armut und Harmlosigkeit des Strassensängers."
5. Lucy Embick, in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 321. See also Clark 1975, p. 336, cited in Buenger 1979, p. 284.
6. MQB, *Mein Leben* 1983, p. 164; Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 497. Barbara Buenger convincingly compared Beckmann's foreground figures to similar ones in Pieter Bruegel the Elder's drawing *Avarice* from the series The World of the Seven Deadly Sins or Vices, a connection that reinforces the highly allegorical nature of *The Town*. Buenger 1979, pp. 282–83, fig. 188.
7. Eric Darragon, "Léger und Beckmann. Ein Spagat," in Cologne 2005, p. 113.
8. The entryway is also very similar to that in the central panel of the 1948 sketch for the "New York Triptych" (see note 13).
9. Sarah O'Brien-Twohig, "Beckmann and the City," in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 108; Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 196. Quappi Beckmann noted (Beckmann MQ 1983, pp. 163–64), as did Janson in 1951 (see note 17), the contrasting symbolism of the circular (the arched windows, the base of the wine bottle, and mirror) and the vertical (the sword, the bedposts, the doorframe to the right, and the singer's striped pants)—forms that may be read as signifying female and male, respectively. Just a few days before beginning work on the canvas, Beckmann saw a number of paintings by Titian at the Metropolitan Museum of Art, including the museum's *Venus and the Lute Player* (c. 1565–70), which both O'Brien-Twohig and Charles Haxthausen (1985, p. 33) cited as possible sources for Beckmann's recumbent nude. Karin von Maur suggested instead the artist's *Danae* (c. 1550; Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna), which was also on view. Stuttgart 1994–95, pp. 196, 199. Because the sketch (fig. 37/1) predates this museum visit, it is unlikely that the female nude in the St. Louis painting was directly inspired by Titian's example.
10. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, "Midnight": 1950: Mar. 5, 15, 18, 19, 22, 23, Apr. 8, pp. 365, 367–68, 370; "Town": 1950: Mar. 8, 10, 12, p. 366; "City Night": Mar. 25, 1950, p. 368.
11. O'Brien-Twohig called the painting a "eulogy." O'Brien-Twohig (note 9), p. 108. Haxthausen questioned the previous use, in relation to *The Town*, of the term "homage": "If it *is* an homage, it is a peculiar sort, for this is hardly a flattering view of city life." Haxthausen 1985, p. 32. See also Kienle 2008, pp. 132–33.
12. See also the artist's sketch *Amsterdam Street Scene* (1938) in Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 285.
13. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Sept. 8, 1947, p. 206. In his commencement speech at Washington University in 1950, Beckmann anthropomorphized the skyscrapers around Central Park in a positive sense, describing them as "nodding reflectively" at his thoughts about art as a transformation of nature. MB, "Speech for Friends and Faculty," in MB, *Self-Portrait in Words* 1997, p. 320. In her 1956 conversation with the Göpels (note 3), Quappi Beckmann claimed that the structures have no specific meaning. Reinhard Spieler argued convincingly that a group of skyscrapers with heads in a 1948 sketch for an unrealized "New York Triptych," designated by the artist as "the giants" (*Die Riesen*), may have inspired the buildings in *The Town*. Spieler 1998, pp. 112 (ill.), 256–57. This sheet also includes a small pencil drawing of five differently sized buildings topped with human heads. For a color illustration, see Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 327. In Christiane Zeiller's opinion, a direct relationship between the sketch and the painting "cannot be determined." Munich et al. 2007–8, p. 325.
14. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Apr. 8, 1950, p. 370.
15. A 1946 sketch for the unrealized "Simolin Triptych" also features three barely dressed women framed by a rounded doorway, perhaps the entrance to a red-light-district establishment, manned by a bouncer with Beckmann's features, whom the artist identified in the sketch as an "entry controller" (*Eintrittscontrolleur*). See Spieler 1995, p. 72 (ill.); Munich et al. 2007–8, pp. 324–25, 326 (color ill.).
16. Rathbone 1964–65, p. 125.
17. Janson 1951, p. 92.
18. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 164.
19. Stuttgart 1994–95, p. 196.
20. MDM to Stephan Lackner, Sept. 22, 1955. May Archives, SLAM.
21. MQB, diary, Mar. 5, 1950 (note 1). ". . . ein neues Triptichon [*sic*] 'the City.'" Thereafter, she called it simply "the large picture" (*das grosse Bild*). Ibid., Mar. 14, 19, 1950.
22. See notes 13, 15.
23. Haxthausen, for example, dismissed the work as "rude and garish." Haxthausen 1985, p. 32.
24. New York 1951a.
25. The other painting was Beckmann's 1944 *Elephants and Acrobats* (1944; Göpel 661), which May acquired in 1951. Curt Valentin acted as Quappi Beckmann's agent for the sale. CV to MDM, Jan. 15, 1953, May Archives, SLAM. *The Town* is included in a list entitled "paintings in the studio," likely compiled after Beckmann's death. Curt Valentin Papers, III.A.7 (I), Archives, MoMA.
26. May's copy in the May Archives, SLAM, of the catalogue for Chicago 1951—an exhibition of his collection—includes a handwritten mention of *The Town*. However, May did not purchase this painting until 1953. It is possible that he wrote the title of this painting in the catalogue at a later date as he was planning another exhibition.

Cat. 38
Carnival Mask, Green, Violet, and Pink (Columbine), 1950

Oil on canvas; 53½ x 39⁹⁄₁₆ in. (135.9 x 100.5 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 867.1983
Signed and dated, u.l.: *Beckmann / NY. 50*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Colombina*, *Columbine* (*Kolumbine*), *Mlle. D. ("Columbine")*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS
On canvas, c.r., in black crayon: *3*
On stretcher, u.c., on beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN / 32 EAST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *Columbine. 1950 /* [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann* [in graphite:] *145 /* [printed:] *MEDIUM & SIZE* [typed:] *Oil 53¼ x 39¼"* ["3" in graphite over the 1 of the 2nd "¼"] [in green graphite:] 53 / [printed:] NO. / [typed:] *12846* [in red graphite:] *54*; u.c., on browned label over u.r. corner of Buchholz Gallery label, in blue ink: *Q47A / Columbine*; u.r., in graphite: *64.311*
On frame, u.c., in white chalk: *9340 / 4*; u.r., in ink: *Columbine*; u.r., in graphite: *64.311*; l.l., in graphite: *4* [sideways]; l.l., on yellowed label, in black crayon: *175*; l.c., in white chalk: *59M8E C*[illegible]*715821*; l.r., in red graphite: *47*; l.r., on manila tag, in ink: *MLLE. D.*

(COLUMBINE) / DELIVER TO: / MRS. MAX BECKMANN / 38 WEST 69TH STREET / NEW YORK, N.Y.

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Mounted onto a wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint applied thinly and evenly with paste vehicular consistency. Brush texture and canvas weave visible throughout. Black and other colors vary between matte and glossy. Thin black washes applied over opaque colors. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1983 surface was cleaned to remove grime and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. Varnish was removed in 1985. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, Mathilde Q. Beckmann, New York; sold (Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York), June 27, 1968, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1950 New York Fortsetzung: 8) Fastnacht Maske grün, violett u. rosa. 19.2; 29.9*[?] (*Columbine*)

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel 1976, no. 821, vol. 1, pp. 499–500, 538, 541, 554; vol. 2, p. 308 (ill).

LITERATURE: Göpel (1955) 1984, p. 45. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1950: Feb. 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 18, Apr. 23, May 31, Aug. 22; pp. 362, 364, 371, 375, 387. Fischer 1972, pp. 22–23, 207, betw. 208 and 209 (pl. 14 [color]), 214–20. Fischer 1973, pp. 83, 84 (color ill.), 85–86. Gäßler 1974, p. 6. London et al. 1974–75, pp. 31, 32 (fig. h). London 1985, p. 47, fig. 39. Jatho 1989, pp. [70] (fig. 16), 71. Schulz-Hoffmann 1991, pp. 159–60, [163] (fig. 80 [color]), 175. Spieler 1995, pp. 168, 184, 185 (color ill.). Selz 1996, pp. 90, 91 (fig. 85 [color]), 93. Düsseldorf 1997, pp. 48, 49 (fig. 6), 52. Cologne 2005, p. 118. Kienle 2008, cover (color), pp. 77 (fig. 26 [color]), 78, 80, 87, 95–96. Schneede 2009, pp. 258 (color ill.), 259. Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. 190, 234. Frankfurt 2011–12, p. 266.

EXHIBITIONS: Munich et al. 1951, cat. 175, pp. 54, [298] (ill.). Amsterdam 1951–52, cat. 85, p. 27. São Paulo 1955, cat. 4, p. 45, n.pag., ill. New York et al. 1957, n.pag., ill. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 75, p. 151; Hamburg/ Frankfurt 1965, cat. 70, n.pag., fig. 68; London 1965, cat. 72, p. 30. New York 1967, n.pag. ill. Bielefeld 1968, cat. 30, pp. 12, 58 (color ill.); Cologne 1968–69, cat. 30, pp. 12, 58 (color ill.); Essen 1969, cat. 30, pp. 12, 58 (color ill.); Bremen 1969a, cat. 30, pp. 12, 58 (color ill.); Karlsruhe 1969, cat. 30, pp. 12, 58 (color ill.); Vienna 1969, cat. 43, pp. 23 (color ill.), 51. New York 1969, n.pag., ill. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 56, pp. 18, 92 (color ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 130, pp. 50, 68 (fig. 24), 165, 166 (fig. 5), 294, 298, 305, 318, 319 (color ill.), 471. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 34, 35 (color ill.); Raleigh 1986, n.pag., ill. Leipzig/ Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 93, pp. 232, 233 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 9, pp. 38, 40 (color ill.). Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 66, cover (color), pp. 33, 126, 202, 203 (color ill.), 204, 234. Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99, cat. 59, pp. 54, 57 (color ill.), 232. Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 320 (color ill.), 404; London/ New York 2003, cat. 162, pp. 254, 255 (color ill.). Bern 2006, pp. 23, 48 (color ill.), 82, 136, 157. Munich 2012, cat. 69, pp. 25, 30 (color ill. [det.]), 190, 238, [239] (color ill.), 325.

NOTES

1. Fischer 1973, p. 85. ". . . unmenschlichen Hieroglyphe." The English translation of this phrase relies on the original German publication (Friedhelm Wilhelm Fischer, *Der Maler Max Beckmann* [Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg, 1972], p. 85) rather than that published in the English version (Fischer 1973).
2. An exit sign can be found in earlier works such as *Children of the Twilight* (1939; Göpel 526), where it appears in French: "Sortie" and similar arrows are seen in *Masquerade* (cat. 29). Fischer 1972, p. 219.
3. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 318.
4. Ibid.
5. Fischer 1973, pp. 85–86. The femme fatale, according to Fischer, signified something that Beckmann considered worse than death: alienation from the self and loss of self. Fischer 1972, p. 216.
6. "Ganz verrückter Weise—'yellow Stockings' noch einmal völlig umgerbeitet. Na—Jesus Christ!"; MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 31, 1950, p. 375; "Yellow Stockings" (*Gelbe Strümpfe*) Feb. 7, 8, Apr. 23, pp. 362, 370; "Yellow Woman with Black" (*Gelbe Frau mit Schwarz*), Feb. 6, p. 362; "Yellow Pierette" (*Gelbe Pierette*), Feb. 4, 18, 1950, pp. 262, 364. On February 9, Beckmann referred to work on "mask with large champagne bottle" (*Maske mit grosse Sektflasche*). The Göpels believed that this is a reference to the SLAM canvas, an assumption followed here. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 500.
7. Haxthausen 1985, p. 34.
8. New York et al. 1957. Two other examples of figures in Beckmann's oeuvre that straddle the line between portraiture and generalized representation: the 1937 *Mme X with Birds of Paradise*, also called *Bird of Paradise Portrait* (*Strelitzien-Porträt*; Göpel 461), which, according to a citation in Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 300, Quappi Beckmann declared to be "pure invention" (*reine Erfindung*); and the 1941 *Girl in Blue with Yellow Flowers and Green Sea*, also known as *Josepha* (*Mädchen in Blau mit gelben Blumen und grünem Meer*; Göpel 571).
9. According to Erhard and Barbara Göpel, Curt Valentin also occasionally used the title *Mlle. D*. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 501.
10. I am grateful to Mayen Beckmann for her identification of the figure as Wichert. Beckmann executed the director's portrait around the same time as he did *Portrait of Zeretelli* (1927; Göpel 277), in which the subject strikes a wide-legged position similar to that in *Carnival Mask*. The pose is also close to that of the main protagonist of *The King* (cat. 18). For more on Wichert and Beckmann's portrayal of him, see Buenger 2009, pp. 180–83.
11. This is according to a note added in blue ink to the artist's picture list, likely by his widow. See also Göpel 278, the entry for the Wichert painting.
12. An additional graphite drawing (Wiese 526) does not correspond as directly to the canvas. Wiese 1978, p. 224. A lithograph of Wichert, dated c. 1923, resembles fig. 38/2. See Klaus Gallwitz, *Max Beckmann: Die Druckgraphik; Radierungen; Lithographien; Holzschnitte: Katalogbearbeitung und Gesamtredaktion* (Karlsruhe: Badischen Kunsverein/C. F. Müller, 1962), no. 266; Washton-Long/Makela 2009, fig. 48.
13. Beckmann may have started to transform the Wichert portrait on Dec. 10, 1949. "I was in such high spirits that I also finished the old Wichert portrait." (*Aus lauter Übermut machte ich noch das alte Wichertportrait fertig.*) MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Dec. 10, 1949, p. 353. In the published version, "W. portrait" appears instead of "Wichertportrait."
14. In 1949 Beckmann reworked an earlier portrait of his patron Lilly von Schnitzler (Göpel 803), as well as one of fellow Amsterdam émigré Wolfgang Frommel (Göpel 794), but he retained their defining features. The Schnitzler portrait remained unfinished at the time of Beckmann's death.
15. At the same time, May purchased the large, unfinished triptych *Ballet Rehearsal* (1950; Göpel 834). Although the Göpels listed Harry Spiro, of New York and New Orleans, as the previous owner of the painting, no evidence could be found to this effect. Göpel 1976, vol. 1, p. 499. Haxthausen's provenance follows Göpel 1976. Haxthausen 1985, p. 35.

Cat. 39
Self-Portrait 1950, 1950

Oil on canvas; 55⅛ x 36 in. (140 x 91.4 cm)
Bequest of Morton D. May, 866.1983
Signed and dated, l.r.: *Beckmann / NY 50*

ALTERNATE TITLES: *Selbstbildnis* (*Self-Portrait*), *Selbstbildnis in blauer Jacke* (*Self-Portrait in Blue Jacket*), *Selbstbildnis, rotblau, mit Zigarette* (*Self-Portrait, Red-Blue, with Cigarette*), *Selbstportät* (*Self-Portrait*), *Selbstporträt in blauer Jacke* (*Self-Portrait in Blue Jacket*), *Standing Self-Portrait*

SELECTED MARKS, LABELS

On canvas, u.r., black stamp: *ROWNEY'S / "X" QUALITY / HAND PRIMED CANVAS / MADE IN ENGLAND. Rosenthal / N.Y.C.*
On stretcher, u.l., in graphite: *1* [encircled]; u.l., black stamp: *2*[illegible] / *II 39*; u.l., on beige label, printed: *BUCHHOLZ GALLERY / CURT VALENTIN/ 32 EAST 57TH STREET, NEW YORK / TITLE & YEAR* [typed:] *Standing Self Portrait / 1950* / [printed:] *ARTIST* [typed:] *Max Beckmann* / [printed:] *MEDIUM & SIZE* [typed:] *Oil 55 x 36"* [in blue ink:] *Q.* / [printed:] *NO.* / [typed:] *11890*; u.l., on sticker with rounded corners, overlapping Buchholz Gallery label, in blue ink: *Q 50*; u.l., in red ink: *45"*; u.c., on browned label, printed: *139 / SELBSTPORTRAT IN BLAUER JACKE* [in red ink:] *127* / [typed:] *Slg. Mathilde Q. Beckmann, New York 1950*; u.r., on white label, typed: *Self Portrait / with Cigarette / by / Max Beckmann*; u.r., on stretcher and previous white label, in graphite: *261 / 2 / 7½*; u.r., in graphite: *64393*; u.c., c.l., c.r., l.c., four identical red stamps: *TREATED / ANCO BILT IS WELL BUILT / ANCO INC., GLENDALE, N.Y.*; l.l., in blue crayon: *3* [encircled]; l.c., in blue crayon: *3* [encircled]; l.r., in graphite: *Beckmann*; l.r., in graphite: *BECKXX*[. . . obscured by screw] *XI*
On stretcher horizontal crossbar, c.c., in graphite: *Ph Rosenthal / n.y.c. / 4* ["4" encircled] / *36 x 35 inches*; in red crayon: *K II*

TECHNICAL HISTORY AND CONDITION

Support: Medium-weight, plain-weave linen. Unlined. Original Anco Bilt wood key stretcher. **Ground:** Not tested. Thin, white layer, commercially prepared. Probably oil binder. **Paint layer:** Oil. Paint applied thinly and evenly with paste vehicular consistency. Minimal brush texture visible throughout. Colors vary between matte and glossy. Thin, transparent black paint applied over opaque colors. **Surface coating:** Originally unvarnished. In 1983 surface was cleaned

to remove grime and Acryloid B-72 varnish applied. Varnish was removed in 1985. No varnish present.

PROVENANCE: Artist; by descent, 1950, to Mathilde Q. Beckmann, New York; sold (Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York), Feb. 6, 1960, to Morton D. May, St. Louis; bequeathed, 1983, to SLAM.

ARTIST'S PICTURE LIST: *1950 New York: 1) Selbstportrait 50 angef (20.1.50) beendet am (10.2*[?]*.50) (24.2.50)*[25]

CATALOGUES RAISONNÉS: Göpel, vol. 1, cat. 816, pp. 32, 495–496, 538, 539, 554; vol. 2, p. 306 (ill.).

LITERATURE: Janson 1951, pp. 91 (ill.), 92. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, 1950: Jan. 19, 23, 26, 27, Feb. 5, 8, 11, 21, 23, 24, Mar. 4, 16, 21, 26, 29, May 6, 7, 30; pp. 359–60, 362–65, 367–69, 373, 375. Göpel 1957b, p. 10 (fig. 15). Buchheim 1959, pp. 96, 110, [194] (fig. 98), 216. Erffa et al. 1962, pp. 137–38. MB, *Sichtbares und Unsichtbares* 1965, pp. 16–17, 118, [119] (pl. 48 [color]). Lackner 1977, no. 47, pp. [7], 158, 164, [165] (color ill.). Frankfurt 1981, p. 114 (ill.). Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 180. Göpel (1955) 1984, p. 45. Zenser 1984, no. 54, pp. 30, [138], [139] (fig. 54 [color]). Erpel 1985, cat. 213 pp. [271] (fig. 215 [color]), 381–82. Jatho 1989, pp. [38] (fig. 8), 40. Schulz-Hoffmann 1991, pp. 153, [162] (fig. 79 [color]), 166, 175. St. Louis *Handbook* 1991, p. 200 (color ill.). Selz 1992, pp. 96, 99, [100] (color ill.), 115. Rathbone 1995, pp. 47 (ill.). Spieler 1995, cover (det. [color]), pp. 8, 9 (fig. 11 [color]), 182–84, 186, 188–89, 192, 193 (color ill.), 199. Selz 1996, pp. 92 (fig. 86), 93. New York 1996–97, p. 38. Eckmann 2002, p. 40 (fig. 31). St. Louis *Handbook* 2004, p. 276 (color ill.). Bern 2006, pp. 137–38. Kienle 2008, p. 115 (fig. 74 [color]). Schneede 2009, pp. 242 (color ill.), 243. Washton Long/Makela 2009, pp. 23, 48, [317], [431] (fig. 82). Norton/Roth 2010, pp. 333, 337, 341–44, 345 (fig. 3), 346–48, 364. Frankfurt 2011–12, pp. 18, 58 (fig. 67 [color]), 59.

EXHIBITIONS: New York 1950–51, n.pag. New York 1951a, cat. 6, n.pag., ill. Zurich 1955–56, cat. 139, p. 35; Basel 1956, cat. 127, pp. 10, 17, 35; The Hague 1956, cat. 106, n.pag. New York et al. 1957, n.pag., ill. St. Louis 1960, cat. 87, n.pag., ill. Los Angeles et al. 1960–63, cat. 94, n.pag., ill.; Denver 1960, cat. 92, n.pag., ill. Karlsruhe 1963, cat. 66, n.pag., ill. New York et al. 1964–65, cat. 77, pp. 90 (ill.), 97, 152; Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, cat. 72, n.pag., fig. 70; London 1965, cat. 74, p. 30. Portland, Ore. 1967, cat. 49, p. 10, inside back cover (color). Paris et al. 1968–69, cat. 105, p. 51. Munich 1968–69, cat. 100, n.pag., ill.; Brussels 1969; cat. 105, p. 51. Bremen 1969b, cat. E14, n.pag., cover; Karlsruhe 1969 (not in cat.); Vienna 1969, cat. 45, p. 51. New York 1969, cover, n.pag, ill. New York/St. Louis 1970, cat. 55, pp. 18, 91 (ill.). St. Louis et al. 1984–85, cat. 126, pp. 68, 126 (fig. 10), 127, 166, 315 (color ill.), 471–72. St. Louis et al. 1986–87, pp. 31 (ill.), 32; Raleigh 1986, n.pag. Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 92, pp. 19, 230, 231 (color ill.). Frankfurt 1990–91, cat. 10, pp. 39, 41 (color ill.), 46. Hamburg et al. 1993, cat. 27, pp. 112, [113] (color ill.), 122. Stuttgart 1994–95, cat. 65, pp. 33, 192 (color ill.), 200–1, 234. Los Angeles et al. 1997–98, cat. 18, pp. 67 (fig. 46 [color]), 402. St. Louis 2001 (no cat.). Paris et al. 2002–3, pp. 229 (color ill.), 404; London/New York 2003, cat. 164, pp. 259 (color ill.), 283, 288. Madrid et al. 2007, cat. 85, pp. 41, 169, 193 (color ill.).

NOTES

1. There is extensive discussion in the literature about Beckmann and self-portraiture. See for example Erpel 1985; Selz 1992; Hamburg et al. 1993.

2. Although typically referred to by the more descriptive title *Self-Portrait in Blue Jacket*, Beckmann identified the painting in his picture list as "Self-Portrait 50." Göpel 1976, cat. 816, used "Self-Portrait 1950." See also note 25.

3. Janson 1951, p. 92.

4. MB, Beckmann, *Tagebücher* 1955, Jan. 19, 1950, p. 359. In this entry about the initial design, Beckmann referred to the work as "Self-Portrait Acrobat."

5. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 315.

6. Reinhard Spieler described the clothing colors and the artist's "casual pose" as more akin to the sartorial style of an "American television reporter." Spieler 1995, p. 182. It is unlikely that the hues reflect those of actual articles of clothing. Quappi Beckmann seems to have purchased only pastel-colored shirts for her husband. Beckmann MQ 1983, p. 121.

7. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 315.

8. See for example Spieler 1995 pp. 183–84; Ehrenpreis 2009, pp. 317–24; Sabin 2011–12, p. 58.

9. St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 315.

10. Sabin 2011–12, p. 58.

11. *Max Beckmann, Retrospektive* (Munich: Prestel, 1984), p. 315.

12. John Canaday, "Max Beckmann, German," *New York Times*, Dec. 20, 1964.

13. Ehrenpreis 2009, p. 321.

14. Stephan Lackner, cited in St. Louis et al. 1984–85, p. 315.

15. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Feb. 11, 1950, p. 363.

16. Based solely on the pentimenti, Spieler believed that Beckmann's hand in the 1950 self-portrait rested "with challenging self-assurance on the hip," making the dialogue with the 1927 painting particularly explicit. Spieler 1995, p. 183.

17. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, Oct. 22, 1949, p. 345. ". . . alt und schäbig."

18. Ibid., Mar. 29, 1950, p. 368.

19. Spieler 1995, pp. 186–91.

20. Janson 1951, p. 92.

21. MB, diary, May 7, 1950, Columbia University, New York.

22. New York 1951. Curt Valentin Papers, I (9), Archives, MoMA. In his diary, Beckmann mentioned that Valentin chose the "blue self-portrait" along with other works. MB, *Tagebücher* 1955, May 30, 1950, p. 375. As Valentin had not expressed interest in purchasing the work earlier (see note 21), he likely selected it here for exhibition or to sell on commission rather than purchasing it outright. The fact that it belonged to Quappi Beckmann in 1951 confirms this.

23. MDM to PB, Jan. 27, 1956, May Archives, SLAM.

24. Invoice, Catherine Viviano Gallery, New York, Feb. 6, 1960, May Archives, SLAM. The portrait was reserved for Joseph Pulitzer Jr. until, in late 1959, the artist's widow requested that the agreement be nullified. Catherine Viviano Gallery Records, AAA, Washington, D.C.

25. Although Beckmann's picture list notes "Selfportrait 50" as the title, "Self-Portrait 1950" has been adopted for clarity.

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Prepared with Nathan Stobaugh

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Exhibitions/Exhibition Catalogues in which SLAM Paintings Featured and/or Are Mentioned (Indicated with SLAM Catalogue Numbers)

Reader's Note:
A traveling exhibition is designated by an "et al." assigned to the city of the institution that organized the exhibition and, unless otherwise noted, produced the catalogue. When more than one catalogue was published for different venues of the same exhibition, those venues have received their own listing. In some cases where institutions were joint organizers and/or published a catalogue together, the cities of both venues are listed with a slash between them.

"Not in catalogue" signifies that a work was included in the exhibition but not in the catalogue. "Not in exhibition" signifies that a work is discussed in the catalogue but was not included in the exhibition.

If an asterisk (*) appears after a venue, it signals that this is the probable venue, which cannot be established with certainty. If an asterisk follows "No catalogue," it has not been possible to determine whether or not a catalogue was produced. An asterisk following a catalogue number signals that there is some uncertainty about the work's inclusion in the exhibition, which is amplified in a footnote in the work's entry.

Berlin 1909
Katalog der Achtzehnten Ausstellung der Berliner Secession. Berlin: Paul Cassirer. Cats. 2, 4.

Berlin 1910
XII. Jahrgang, VI. Ausstellung: Kollektionen Max Beckmann, Theo von Brockhusen, Richard Dreher, Ferdinand Hodler, Heinrich Nauen, Julie Wolfthorn. Berlin: Paul Cassirer. Cat. 3.

Bremen 1910
Grosse Kunstausstellung in Verbindung mit einer Sonderausstellung der Vereinigung nordwestdeutsch. Künstler. Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen; Carl Schünemann. Cat. 2.

Darmstadt 1910
Ausstellung des Deutschen Künstlerbundes Darmstadt 1910: Illustrierter Katalog. Darmstadt: F. W. Kleukens. Cat. 3.

Dresden 1910
I. Ausstellung der Künstlervereinigung Dresden 1910 im Ausstellungsgebäude der Königlichen Kunstakademie. Dresden: Hoffmann. Cat. 6.

Düsseldorf 1911
Offizieller Katalog der Grossen Kunst-Ausstellung. Düsseldorf: L. Schwann. Cat. 6.

Weimar 1912
Gemälde von Max Beckmann in Berlin. Weimar: Großherzogliches Museum für Kunst und Kunstgewerbe. Cat. 2.

Berlin 1913a
XV. Jahrgang 1912–1913, Vierte Ausstellung: Max Beckmann. Berlin: Paul Cassirer. Cats. 2, 3, 5*, 6.

Berlin 1913b
Katalog der XXVI. Ausstellung der Berliner Secession. Berlin: Verlag der "Ausstellungshaus am Kurfürstendamm." Cat. 7.

Mannheim 1913
Ausstellung des Deutschen Künstlerbundes 1913. Mannheim: Kunsthalle Mannheim. Cat. 2.

Bremen 1914
Internationale Ausstellung in der Kunsthalle Bremen. Bremen: Carl Schünemann. Cat. 7.

Hamburg 1914
"Max Beckmann, Walter Geffcken, Jules Pascin." Hamburg: Kunstverein Hamburg. No catalogue. Cat. 5.

Stockholm 1916
Title and venue unknown. Cat. 2.

Zurich 1917
Ausstellung Deutscher Malerei XIX. & XX. Jahrhundert. Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich. Cat. 2.

Bremen 1918
Ausstellung von Meisterwerken der modernen Malerei aus Bremischem Privatbesitz. Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen. Cat. 2.

Hamburg 1918
Ausstellung einer Gemäldesammlung aus Hamburger Privatbesitz. Hamburg: Kunsthalle Hamburg. Cat. 5.

Frankfurt 1919
Ausstellung Max Beckmann. Frankfurt am Main: Vereinigung für neue Kunst. Cat. 8.

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Max Beckmann. Ausstellung. Berlin: I. B. Neumann. Cat. 9.

Frankfurt 1921
Max Beckmann. Ausstellung im Frankfurter Kunstverein in Gemeinschaft mit dem Graph. Kabinett I. B. Neumann Berlin. Frankfurt am Main: Kunstanstalt Wüsten & Co. Cats. 8, 9.

Munich 1921
Münchener Neue Secession, VII. Ausstellung München. Munich: Glaspalast (Westflügel); Dr. C. Wolf & Sohn. Cat. 9.

Stockholm 1922
Nyare Tysk Konst. Stockholm: Liljevalchs Konsthall. Cat. 5.

Berlin 1924
"Max Beckmann. Gemälde der Jahre 1917–1923 und Graphik." Berlin: Paul Cassirer. No catalogue.* Cat. 9.

Frankfurt 1924
Ausstellung Max Beckmann im Frankfurter Kunstverein in Gemeinschaft mit Zinglers Kabinett. Frankfurt am Main: Frankfurter Kunstverein; Zinglers Kabinett. Cat. 9.

Dresden 1925
Die neue Sachlichkeit: Ausschnitt aus der deutschen Malerei seit dem Expressionismus. Wander-Ausstellung der Städtischen Kunsthalle zu Mannheim. Dresden: Sächsischer Kunstverein Dresden. Cat. 10 (not in catalogue). Other venue: Mannheim 1925.

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Mannheim 1925
Ausstellung "Neue Sachlichkeit": Deutsche Malerei seit dem Expressionismus. Mannheim: Städtische Kunsthalle Mannheim. Cats. 8, 10 (not in catalogue). Other venue: Dresden 1925.

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Die Malerei nach dem Kriege. Essen: Museum Folkwang der Stadt Essen. Cat. 10.

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Munich 1928
Fünfzigste Ausstellung: Max Beckmann: Gemälde aus den Jahren 1920–1928. Munich: Graphisches Kabinett München, Leitung Günther Franke. Cat. 11.

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Basel 1930
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Munich 1930b
Deutsche Kunstausstellung München 1930 im Glaspalast. Munich: Knorr & Hirth GmbH. Cat. 10.

Prague 1930
2. Ausstellung der Vereinigung bildender Künstler Prager Secession. Prague: Kunstverein für Böhmen. Cat. 13.

Zurich 1930
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Bad Homburg 1931
Deutsche Bildniskunst von Cranach bis Dix 1530–1930. Bad Homburg: Ausstellungszyklus im Kurhaus Bad Homburg. Cat. 12.

Berlin 1931
Frühjahrs—Ausstellung 1931. Berlin: Preussische Akademie der Künste. Cat. 14.

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Exposition Max Beckmann. Brussels: Galerie "Le Centaure." Cats. 10, 11, 13. Other venue: Paris 1931.

Hanover 1931
110. Ausstellung der Kestner-Gesellschaft. Max Beckmann: Gemälde und Graphik 1906 bis 1930. Hanover: Kestner-Gesellschaft e.V. Cats. 9, 10, 13.

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Paris 1931
Exposition. Max Beckmann. Paris: Galerie de la Renaissance. Cats. 10 (not in exhibition), 11, 13, 15. Other venue: Brussels 1931.

Bremen 1933
"Januar—Leihgabe der Kunsthalle." Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen. No catalogue. Cat. 2.

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Religious Art of Today. Paintings, Sculpture, Drawings, Liturgical Objects, Architecture. Dayton: Dayton Art Institute. Cat. 8.

Amsterdam 1945
"Max Beckmann." Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum. No catalogue. Cat. 17.

Boston 1946
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Munich 1946
Max Beckmann. Munich: Günther Franke, Stuck-Villa. Cats. 10, 14.

New York et al. 1946
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Santa Barbara 1946
"Contemporary Art." Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art. No catalogue.* Cat. 19.

Buffalo 1947
Max Beckmann: Paintings from 1940 to 1946. Buffalo: Albright Art Gallery, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy. Cats. 20, 25.

Frankfurt 1947
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Hamburg 1947
"Max Beckmann." Hamburg: Kunstverein Hamburg. No catalogue.* Cat. 14.

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"Forty Masterpieces from the Collections of the City Art Museum of Saint Louis." St. Louis: City Art Museum. *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 32, 2–3. Cat. 21.

San Francisco 1948
"The Wright Ludington Collection." San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. No catalogue.* Cat. 19.*

St. Louis et al. 1948–49
Max Beckmann: A Retrospective Exhibition. St. Louis: City Art Museum. Cats. 8, 9, 13, 18, 20, 21, 26. Other venues: Detroit, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Baltimore, Cambridge (Mass.), Minneapolis.

Hanover 1949
Max Beckmann. Hanover: Kestner-Gesellschaft. Cats. 10, 14.

New York 1949
Max Beckmann: Recent Work. New York: Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin. Cats. 27, 32–34.

Pittsburgh 1949
Painting in the United States, 1949. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute. Cat. 30.

St. Louis 1949
"Federation Exhibition." St. Louis: City Art Museum. No catalogue. Cat. 21.

Beverly Hills, Calif. 1950
"Max Beckmann." Frank Perls Gallery, Beverly Hills, Calif. No catalogue.* Cat. 27.

Minneapolis 1950a
Contemporary American Painting. 5th Biennial Purchase Exhibition. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center. Cat. 29.

Minneapolis 1950b
German Expressionism in Art: 1905–1935. Minneapolis: University Gallery, University of Minnesota. Cat. 8.

Munich 1950
Max Beckmann: 25 Bilder aus den Jahren 1906–1949. Munich: Galerie Günther Franke, Stuck-Villa. Cat. 14.

Philadelphia 1950
The One Hundred and Forty-Fifth Annual Exhibition of Painting and Sculpture. Philadelphia: Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts. Cat. 27.

St. Louis 1950
"Max Beckmann." St. Louis: Washington University Gallery of Art. No catalogue. Cat. 21.

New York 1950–51
American Painting Today. A National Competitive Exhibition. New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1950. Cat. 39.

Chicago 1951
German Expressionists and Max Beckmann from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Morton D. May. Chicago: Arts Club of Chicago. Cats. 11*, 18, 22, 24, 30*, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36*, 37*. (*These paintings are assigned catalogue numbers handwritten in Morton D. May's copy of the catalogue, May Archives, SLAM.)

Essen 1951
Max Beckmann: Gemälde und Graphik aus der Sammlung Günther Franke München. Ausstellung im Museum Folkwang. Essen: Museum Folkwang. Cats. 10, 14.

Munich 1951
"Gendenkraum für Max Beckmann in der Galerie Günther Franke." Munich: Galerie Günther Franke, Stuck-Villa. No catalogue.* Cat. 14.

Munich et al. 1951
Max Beckmann zum Gedächtnis 1884–1950. Munich: Prestel. Cats. 4 (Berlin only), 7, 10, 11, 14, 20, 21 (Berlin only), 36, 38. Other venue: Berlin.

New York 1951a
Max Beckmann. New York: Buchholz Gallery, Curt Valentin. Cats. 21 (not in exhibition), 37, 39.

New York 1951b
Lehmbruck and His Contemporaries. New York: Curt Valentin Gallery. Cat. 8.

Amsterdam 1951–52
Max Beckmann. Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum, 1951. Cats. 10, 11*, 14, 20, 21, 36, 38.

Baltimore 1952
"The Rosen Collection." Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art. No catalogue. Cat. 26.

Freiburg im Breisgau 1952
Max Beckmann: Gemälde und Graphik aus der Sammlung Günther Franke. Freiburg im Breisgau: Kunstverein Freiburg im Breisgau. Cat. 10.

Munich 1952
Max Beckmann: Werke der Frühzeit. Munich: Galerie Günther Franke, Stuck-Villa. Cats. 3, 4, 6, 7.

St. Louis 1952
"St. Louis Collects: An Exhibition Selected from Private Collections: American and European Art: 1850 to 1950, Ancient, Aboriginal, Oriental Art." *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 37, 2–3. Cats. 24, 30, 31, 34, 36.

Braunschweig 1953
Max Beckmann 1884–1950: Werke aus 5 Jahrzehnten, Gedächtnisausstellung. Braunschweig: Kunstverein Braunschweig. Cats. 3, 4, 6, 7. Other venue: Bremen 1953–54.

St. Louis 1953
"20th Century Painting and Sculpture." St. Louis: City Art Museum. No catalogue. Cat. 30.

Bremen 1953–54
Max Beckmann 1884–1950: Werke aus 5 Jahrzehnten, Gedächtnisausstellung. Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen. Cats. 3, 4, 6, 7. Other venue: Braunschweig 1953.

Los Angeles 1954
Some German Expressionists: An Exhibition of Art Work Loaned from Private and Public Collections. Los Angeles: University of Southern California. Cat. 17.

New York 1954
Max Beckmann. New York: Curt Valentin Gallery. Cats. 15, 16.

Pforzheim 1954
"Max Beckmann Ausstellung." Pforzheim: Kunst- und Kunstgewerbeverein Pforzheim e.V. No catalogue.* Cat. 10.

St. Louis 1954
"20th Century European Painting and Sculpture." St. Louis: City Art Museum. No catalogue. Cats. 11, 18, 24, 36.

Milwaukee 1954–55
Exhibition of German Expressionism. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Institute. Cats. 11, 18, 31, 34–36.

Chicago 1955
"Max Beckmann." Chicago: 1020 Art Center. No catalogue. Cats. 13*, 15*.

New Orleans 1955
"Drawings, Paintings, Prints and Sculpture Owned by Mr. and Mrs. George Rickey." New Orleans: Newcomb Art Gallery, Tulane University. No catalogue. Cats. 28, 33.

New York 1955
Beckmann: Exhibition of Paintings. New York: Catherine Vivano Gallery. Cats. 16, 29.

Santa Barbara et al. 1955
Max Beckmann. Santa Barbara: Santa Barbara Museum of Art. Cat. 19. Other venues: San Francisco, Pasadena.

São Paulo 1955
III Bienal. São Paulo: Museu de Arte Moderna de São Paulo. Cats. 25, 38.

St. Louis 1955a
"A Tribute to Curt Valentin: An Exhibition of Twentieth Century Art Selected from St. Louis Collections." St. Louis: City Art Museum. *Bulletin of the City Art Museum of St. Louis* 39, 2–3. Cats. 11, 21.

St. Louis 1955b
"20th Century Paintings and Sculpture." St. Louis: City Art Museum. No catalogue. Cat. 24.

Zurich 1955–56
Max Beckmann: 1884–1950. Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich. Cats. 10, 11, 14, 20, 37, 39. Other venues: Basel 1956, The Hague 1956.

Basel 1956
Ausstellung Max Beckmann. Basel: Kunsthalle Basel. Cats. 9–11, 14, 20, 37 (not in exhibition), 39. Other venues: Zurich 1955–56, The Hague 1956.

The Hague 1956
Max Beckmann. The Hague: Gemeentemuseum Den Haag. Cats. 10, 11, 14, 20, 37, 39. Other venues: Zurich 1955–56, Basel 1956.

St. Louis 1956
"Paintings and Drawings by Max Beckmann (1884–1950) from St. Louis Collections." St. Louis: City Art Museum. No catalogue. Cats. 2, 4, 7, 8, 10, 11, 13–15, 18, 19, 21–24, 31, 34–37.

Minneapolis et al. 1956–57
Expressionism: 1900–1955. Minneapolis: Walker Art Center, 1956. Cat. 30. Other venues: Boston, San Francisco, Cincinnati, Baltimore, Buffalo.

Baltimore 1957
"Modern Art for Baltimore." Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art. No catalogue. Cat. 26.

Boston 1957
European Masters of Our Time. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts. Cat. 19.

Hanover, N.H. 1957
"Expressionism and Abstraction: Modern Paintings from the Collection of Morton D. May." Hanover, N.H.: Carpenter Art Galleries. No catalogue. Cats. 18, 35.

Kansas City, Mo. 1957
Some Points of View in Modern Painting. Kansas City, Mo.: Nelson Gallery and Atkins Museum of Art. Cat. 20.

Manhattan, Kans. 1957
"Fine Arts Festival." Manhattan, Kans.: Kansas State College. No catalogue. Cat. 30.

New York et al. 1957
Portraits by Max Beckmann (1925–1950). New York: Catherine Viviano Gallery. Cats. 13, 23, 34, 38, 39. Other venue: Cambridge, Mass.

New York 1957–58
Face of America: The History of Portraiture in the United States. New York: Brooklyn Museum. Cat. 32.

New York et al. 1957–58
German Art of the Twentieth Century. New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1957. Cats. 11, 14. Other venue: St. Louis.

Kansas City, Mo. 1959
Aspects of Representation in Contemporary Art. Kansas City, Mo.: William Rockhill Gallery of Art. Cat. 14, 35, 36.

Madison 1959
German Expressionist Paintings from the Morton D. May Collection. Madison: Wisconsin Union Gallery, University of Wisconsin. Cat. 35.

Troy, N.Y. 1959 (or 1960)
Title unknown. Troy, N.Y.: Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute. Brochure.* Cat. 28.

Denver 1960
German Expressionist Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Morton D. May. Denver: Denver Art Museum. Cats. 1, 2, 4–7, 9, 10, 20–25, 30–32, 34–37, 39. Related exhibition: Los Angeles et al. 1960–63.

St. Louis 1960
Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Morton D. May. St. Louis: Pius XII Memorial Library, St. Louis University. Cats. 1, 2, 4, 7, 9–20, 22–25, 30–32, 34–37, 39.

Los Angeles et al. 1960–63
German Expressionist Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Morton D. May. Los Angeles: University of California, 1960. Cats. 1, 2, 3 (addendum, typed insert), 4, 5, 6 (addendum, typed insert), 7, 9–20, 22–25, 30–32, 34–37, 39. Other venues: Denver 1960, San Diego, San Francisco, Chicago, Youngstown, Akron, Pittsburgh, Washington, D.C., Baltimore, Kansas City (Mo.).

Pasadena 1961
German Expressionism. Pasadena: Pasadena Art Museum. Cat. 8.

Baltimore 1963
"Masterworks from the Museum and Private Collections." Baltimore: Baltimore Museum of Art. No catalogue. Cat. 26.

Darmstadt 1963
Zeugnisse der Angst in der Modernen Kunst. Darmstadt: Mathildenhöhe Darmstadt. Cat. 37.

Karlsruhe 1963
Max Beckmann. Das Portrait: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen. Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein. Cats. 5, 12, 13, 32, 34, 39.

Notre Dame, Ind. 1963
Sacred Art in America since 1900. Notre Dame, Ind.: Art Gallery of the University of Notre Dame. Cat. 8.

Albuquerque 1964
Art since 1889: An Exhibition Presented in Celebration of the 75th Anniversary of the Founding of the University of New Mexico. Albuquerque: Art Gallery, University of New Mexico. Cat. 21.

Kassel 1964
Documenta III: Internationale Ausstellung. Malerei, Skulptur. Kassel: Fridericianium.* Cologne: M. DuMont Schauberg. Cat. 15.

New York et al. 1964–65
Max Beckmann. Catalogue edited by Peter Selz. New York: Museum of Modern Art. Cats. 7–9, 11, 14, 18, 19 (not in New York), 20, 24, 30, 36, 38, 39. Other venues: Boston, Chicago, Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965, London 1965.

Albany 1965
Primitives, Prints, Paintings, and Constructions from the George and Edith Rickey Collection. Albany: Albany Institute of History and Art. Cats. 28, 33.

Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965
Max Beckmann: Gemälde, Aquarelle, Zeichnungen. Hamburg: Kunstverein in Hamburg; Frankfurt: Frankfurter Kunstverein. Cats. 7–9, 11, 14, 18–20, 24, 30, 36, 38, 39. Other venues: London 1965, New York et al. 1964–65.

London 1965
Max Beckmann, 1884–1950: Paintings, Drawings, and Graphic Work. London: Arts Council of Great Britain. Cats. 7–9, 11, 14, 18–20, 24, 30, 36, 38, 39. Other venues: New York et al. 1964–65, Hamburg/Frankfurt 1965.

Pittsburgh 1965
The Seashore: Paintings of the 19th and 20th Centuries. Pittsburgh: Carnegie Institute. Cat. 10.

Bloomington, Ind. 1966
25 Still Life Paintings. Bloomington, Ind.: Indiana University Art Museum. Cat. 35.

Cleveland 1966
Fifty Years of Modern Art: 1916–1966. Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art. Cats. 9, 18.

Nashville et al. 1966
German Expressionist Paintings from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. Morton D. May. Nashville: Fine Arts Gallery, Vanderbilt University. Cats. 6, 10, 13, 17, 26, 36. Other venue: Jacksonville.

New York 1966
Seven Decades 1895–1965: Crosscurrents in Modern Art. New York: Public Education Association. Cats. 9, 18.

St. Louis 1966–67
Moments in Portraiture. St. Louis: Washington University Gallery of Art, 1966. Cats. 5, 12.

New York 1967
Twelve Paintings of Women by Max Beckmann. New York: Catherine Vivano Gallery. Cats. 13, 38.

Portland, Ore. 1967
German Expressionist Paintings from the Collection of Mr. Morton D. May. Portland, Ore.: Portland Art Museum. Cats. 2–6, 7, 9–14, 16–20, 22–27, 30–32, 34–37, 39.

Bielefeld 1968
Deutsche Expressionisten aus der Sammlung Morton D. May. St. Louis, USA. Bielefeld: Richard Kaselowsky-Haus, Kunsthalle der Stadt Bielefeld. (Some paintings represented in this traveling exhibition did not go to all the venues; for clarity no single venue is designated here as the organizing institution.) Cats. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23–25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36–38. Other venues: Cologne 1968–69, Essen 1969, Bremen 1969a and 1969b, Karlsruhe 1969, Vienna 1969.

New York 1968
International Expressionism, Part I. New York: Marlborough-Gerson Gallery. Cat. 14.

St. Louis 1968a
Works of Art of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries Collected by Louise and Joseph Pulitzer, Jr. Cat. by Charles E. Buckley. St. Louis: City Art Museum. Cat. 29.

St. Louis 1968b
Faculty Show. St. Louis: Washington University Gallery of Art. No catalogue. Cat. 29.

Williamstown, Mass. 1968
Williams College Art Museum, Williamstown, Mass. Cats. 28, 33.

Cologne 1968–69
Expressionisten: Sammlung Morton D. May. Cologne: Wallraf-Richartz Museum. Cats. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23–25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36–38. Other venues: Bielefeld 1968, Bremen 1969a and 1969b, Essen 1969, Karlsruhe 1969, Vienna 1969.

Munich 1968–69
Max Beckmann. Munich: Ausstellungsleitung Haus der Kunst. Cats. 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 26, 30, 35, 39. Other venues: Paris et al. 1968–69, Brussels 1969.

Paris et al. 1968–69
Max Beckmann. Paris: Musée National d'Art Moderne, Ministère d'État Affaires Culturelles. Cats. 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 26, 30, 35, 39. Other venues: Munich 1968–69, Brussels 1969.

Bremen 1969a
Max Beckmann und die deutsche Expressionisten aus der Sammlung Morton D. May, St. Louis, USA. Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen. Cats. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23–25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36–38. Other venues: Bielefeld 1968, Cologne 1968–69, Essen 1969, Karlsruhe 1969, Vienna 1969.

Bremen 1969b
Max Beckmann: 14 Gemälde. Ergänzung zur Ausstellung Max Beckmann und die deutschen Expressionisten aus der Sammlung Morton D. May, St. Louis, USA. Bremen: Kunsthalle Bremen. Cats. 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 26, 30, 35, 39.

Brussels 1969
Max Beckmann. Brussels: Palais des Beaux-Arts. Cats. 11, 13, 16, 18, 19, 26, 30, 35, 39. Other venues: Munich 1968–69, Paris et al. 1968–69.

Essen 1969
Deutsche Expressionisten aus der Sammlung Morton D. May, St. Louis, USA. Essen: Museum Folkwang. Cats. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 14, 17, 20, 23–25, 27, 31, 32, 34, 36–38. Other venues: Bielefeld 1968, Bremen 1969a, Cologne 1968–69, Karlsruhe 1969, Vienna 1969.

Karlsruhe 1969
Max Beckmann und die Expressionisten der Sammlung Morton D. May, St. Louis, USA. Karlsruhe: Badischer Kunstverein, e.V. Cats. 2, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 (not in catalogue), 12, 13 (not in catalogue),14, 16 (not in catalogue), 17, 18 (not in catalogue), 19 (not in catalogue), 20, 23–25, 26 (not in catalogue), 27, 30 (not in catalogue), 31, 32, 34, 35 (not in catalogue), 36, 38, 39 (not in catalogue). Other venues: Bielefeld 1968, Bremen 1969a, Cologne 1968–69, Essen 1969, Vienna 1969.

New York 1969
Max Beckmann in America. New York: Catherine Viviano Gallery. Cats. 38, 39.

Vienna 1969
Expressionisten: Sammlung Morton D. May. Vienna: Museum des 20. Jahrhunderts. Cats. 2, 5, 6, 9–14, 16–20, 23–27, 30–32, 34–39. Other venues: Bielefeld 1968, Bremen 1969a, Cologne 1968–69, Essen 1969, Karlsruhe 1969.

New York/St. Louis 1970
The Morton D. May Collection of 20th Century German Masters. New York: Marlborough-Gerson Gallery; St. Louis: City Art Museum. Cats. 1–3, 4*, 5, 6, 7*, 9–20, 22, 23–27, 30–32, 34–38, 39.

Omaha 1971
The Thirties Decade: American Artists and Their European Contemporaries. Omaha: Joslyn Art Museum. Cat. 16.

Genoa 1972
Immagine per la citta. Genoa: Palazzo dell'Accademia, Palazzo Regale; Ente Manifestazioni Genovesi. Cat. 11.

St. Louis 1973–74
"20th Century Masterworks from St. Louis Collections." St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum. No catalogue. Cat. 19.

Allentown 1974
The Blue Four and German Expressionism. Allentown: Allentown Art Museum. Cat. 16.

Austin 1974
The Morton D. May Collection of German Expressionist Paintings. Austin: University Art Museum, University of Texas at Austin. Cats. 10, 24, 26.

London et al. 1974–75
Max Beckmann: A Small Loan Retrospective of Paintings Centered around His Visit to London in 1938. London: Marlborough Fine Art. Cats. 3, 4 (not in exhibition), 6, 7 (not in exhibition), 8 (not in exhibition), 9 (not in exhibition), 11 (not in exhibition), 16, 18, 22, 38 (not in exhibition). Other venue: New York.

St. Louis 1976
St. Louis Artists' Guild: 1877–1977 Centennial Exhibition. Catalogue by Beatrice Newman Mack. St. Louis: St. Louis Artists' Guild. Cat. 34.

Chicago 1978
Art in a Turbulent Era: German and Austrian Expressionism. Chicago: Museum of Contemporary Art. Cat. 8.

St. Petersburg, Fla. 1980
Expressionism and Its Legacy: German Art from 1905 to the Present. St. Petersburg, Fla.: Museum of Fine Arts. Cat. 26.

London et al. 1980–81
Max Beckmann: The Triptychs. London: Whitechapel Art Gallery; Arts Council of Great Britain. Cat. 19. Other venues: Amsterdam, Frankfurt 1981.

New York/San Francisco 1980–81
Expressionism: A German Intuition, 1905–1920. New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum; San Francisco: San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. Cats. 7, 8.

Frankfurt 1981
Max Beckmann: Die Triptychen im Städel. Frankfurt am Main: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in exhibition), 9 (not in exhibition) 19, 20 (not in exhibition), 39 (not in exhibition). Other venue: London et al. 1980–81.

Milwaukee et al. 1981–82
Center Ring, The Artist: Two Centuries of Circus Art. Milwaukee: Milwaukee Art Museum, 1981. Cat. 20. Other venues: Columbus, Albany, Washington, D.C.

Bielefeld/Frankfurt 1982–83
Max Beckmann. Die frühen Bilder. Bielefeld: Kunsthalle Bielefeld; Frankfurt am Main: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut. Cats. 2–5, 6 (Frankfurt only), 7.

Fort Lauderdale 1983
Max Beckmann. Fort Lauderdale: Museum of Art. Cats. 10, 20, 27, 32, 34, 37.

Frankfurt 1983–84
Max Beckmann. Frankfurt 1915–1933. Eine Ausstellung zum 100. Geburtstag. Frankfurt am Main: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut. Cats. 8–14.

Cologne 1984
Max Beckmann. Cologne: Joseph-Haubrich-Kunsthalle. Cats. 8 (not in exhibition), 9 (not in exhibition), 19 (not in exhibition), 21 (not in exhibition), 25, 26, 34 (not in exhibition), 36 (not in exhibition), 37 (not in exhibition).

Roslyn Harbor, N.Y. 1984–85
Works by Max Beckmann. Catalogue by Joseph H. Driscoll III. Roslyn Harbor, N.Y.: Nassau County Museum of Art, 1984. Cats. 8 (not in exhibition), 9 (not in exhibition), 28, 30 (not in exhibition), 33.

St. Louis et al. 1984–85
Max Beckmann: Retrospective. Catalogue edited by Carla Schulz-Hoffmann and Judith C. Weiss. St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum; Munich: Prestel. Cats. 3 (not in exhibition), 4, 6 (not in exhibition), 7–11, 12 (not in exhibition), 13 (not in exhibition), 14, 18, 19, 20 (not in exhibition), 21, 23 (not in exhibition), 24, 25 (not in exhibition), 26 (not in exhibition), 27, 29, 30, 32 (not in exhibition), 33 (not in exhibition), 34–39. Other venues: Munich, Berlin, Los Angeles.

Raleigh 1986
Modern German Masterpieces from the Saint Louis Art Museum. Raleigh: North Carolina Museum of Art. Cats. 8, 9, 14, 18, 19, 37–39. Other venue: St. Louis et al. 1986–87.

St. Louis et al. 1986–87
Modern German Masterpieces. Catalogue by Charles Werner Haxthausen. St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum, 1985. See Haxthausen 1985. Cats. 1 (not in catalogue), 4 (not in exhibition), 5, 7–12, 14, 18–20, 21 (not in exhibition), 22 (not in catalogue), 24, 25, 29 (not in exhibition), 30, 35–39. Other venues: Raleigh 1986, Phoenix, Sacramento, Seattle, San Diego, Fort Worth.

Cambridge, Mass./St. Louis 1988
Modern Art from the Pulitzer Collection: 50 Years of Connoisseurship. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Art Museums; St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum. Cat. 29 (St. Louis only).

Atlanta 1989–90
Art in Berlin: 1815–1989. Atlanta: High Museum of Art, 1989. Cat. 18.

Frankfurt 1990–91
Hinter der Bühne: "Backstage," Max Beckmann 1950. Frankfurt am Main: Städtische Galerie im Städelschen Kunstinstitut. Cats. 16, 25, 26, 37 (not in exhibition), 38, 39.

Leipzig/Frankfurt 1990–91
Max Beckmann: Gemälde 1905–1950. Leipzig: Museum der bildenden Künste; Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje. Cats. 10, 14, 20, 21, 25 (Leipzig only), 38 (Leipzig only), 39 (Leipzig only).

Los Angeles et al. 1991–92
"Degenerate Art": The Fate of the Avant-Garde in Nazi Germany. Catalogue by Stephanie Barron et al. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art. Cat. 8. Other venues: Chicago, Washington, D.C., Berlin.

Hamburg et al. 1993
Max Beckmann: Selbstbildnisse. Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle; Stuttgart: Gerd Hatje. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in exhibition), 8 (not in exhibition), 21 (not in exhibition), 39. Other venue: Munich.

Stuttgart 1994–95
Max Beckmann: Meisterwerke 1907–1950. Catalogue edited by Karin von Maur. Stuttgart: Staatsgalerie Stuttgart; Gerd Hatje. Cats. 1–32, 33 (not in exhibition), 34–39.

New York 1996–97
Max Beckmann in Exile. New York: Guggenheim Museum, 1996. Cats. 8 (not in exhibition), 11 (not in exhibition), 16 (not in exhibition), 18–20, 39 (not in exhibition).

Düsseldorf 1997
Max Beckmann: Die Nacht. Catalogue edited by Anette Kruszynski. Düsseldorf: Kunstsammlung Nordrhein-Westfalen; Ostfildern: Gerd Hatje. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in exhibition), 9, 38 (not in exhibition).

Los Angeles et al. 1997–98
Exiles and Emigrés: The Flight of European Artists from Hitler. Catalogue by Stephanie Barron with Sabine Eckmann. Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art; New York: Harry N. Abrams. Cats. 19 (Berlin only, not in catalogue), 37, 39. Other venues: Montreal, Berlin.

Hamburg et al. 1998–99
Max Beckmann: Landschaft als Fremde. Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle; Ostfildern: Gerd Hatje, 1998. Cats. 2 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in exhibition), 10 (not in exhibition), 11, 21 (not in exhibition), 22, 25, 36. Other venues: Bielefeld, Vienna.

Zurich/St. Louis 1998–99
Max Beckmann and Paris: Matisse, Picasso, Braque, Léger, Rouault. Catalogue edited by Tobia Bezzola and Cornelia Homburg. Zurich: Kunsthaus Zürich; St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum; Cologne: Taschen, 1998. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in exhibition), 10, 13–15, 17, 18, 19 (not in exhibition), 20, 21, 24, 35, 38.

St. Louis 2001
"Caught by Politics: Art of the 1930s and 40s." St. Louis: Saint Louis Art Museum. No catalogue. Cats. 27, 29, 37, 39.

Paris et al. 2002–3
Max Beckmann: Centre Pompidou. Paris: Centre Pompidou. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in Paris), 8–11, 14, 18, 19 (not in exhibition), 20, 21 (Paris only), 26 (not in exhibition), 29, 36 (not in exhibition), 37 (Paris only), 38, 39. Other venue: London/New York 2003.

London/New York 2003
Max Beckmann. Catalogue edited by Sean Rainbird. London: Tate Gallery and Tate Publishing; New York: Museum of Modern Art. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7–11, 14, 18, 19 (not in exhibition), 20, 29, 30 (not in exhibition), 38, 39. Other venue: Paris et al. 2002–3.

Hamburg 2003–4
Max Beckmann: Menschen am Meer. Catalogue by Klaus Gallwitz and Ortrud Westheider. Edited by Heinz Spielmann and Ortrud Westheider. Hamburg: Bucerius Kunst Forum; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2003. Cats. 1 (not in exhibition), 10 (not in exhibition), 11 (not in exhibition), 14 (not in exhibition), 19 (not in exhibition), 21 (not in exhibition), 22 (not in exhibition), 30.

St. Louis 2004–5
Exploring Ando's Space: Art and the Spiritual. St. Louis: Pulitzer Foundation for the Arts. Cat. 8.

Cologne 2005
Max Beckmann—Fernand Léger: Unerwartete Begegnungen. Cologne: Museum Ludwig; DuMont. Cats. 2 (not in exhibition), 9, 10, 13 (not in exhibition), 14, 15 (not in exhibition), 19 (not in exhibition), 37 (not in exhibition), 38 (not in exhibition).

Hamburg 2005
Seestücke: von Caspar David Friedrich bis Emil Nolde. Hamburg: Hamburger Kunsthalle; Munich: Prestel. Cats. 1, 7 (not in exhibition).

Bern 2006
Max Beckmann: A Dream of Life. Bern: Zentrum Paul Klee; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz. Cats. 7 (not in exhibition), 8 (not in exhibition), 9, 10, 11 (not in exhibition), 14 (not in exhibition), 16, 18 (not in exhibition), 19 (not in exhibition), 20 (not in exhibition), 21 (not in exhibition), 24, 38.

Madrid et al. 2007
The Mirror and the Mask: Portraiture in the Age of Picasso. Catalogue by Paloma Alarcó and Malcolm Warner. Madrid: Museo Thyssen Bornemisza-Fundación Caja Madrid; Fort Worth: Kimbell Art Museum; New Haven: Yale University Press. Cat. 39. Other venue: Fort Worth.

Munich et al. 2007–8
Max Beckmann: Exile in Amsterdam. Munich: Pinakothek der Moderne; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz, 2007. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 7 (not in exhibition), 9 (not in exhibition), 16 (not in exhibition), 18–20, 21 (not in exhibition), 23 (not in exhibition), 25, 26 (not in catalogue), 30 (not in exhibition), 37 (not in exhibition). Other venue: Amsterdam.

St. Louis 2007–8
Water. Catalogue edited by Matthias Waschek and Camran Mani. St. Louis: Pulitzer Foundation for the Arts. Cats. 10, 30.

Philadelphia 2009
Cézanne and Beyond. Catalogue by Joseph J. Rishel and Katherine Sachs. Philadelphia: Philadelphia Museum of Art; New Haven: Yale University Press. Cats. 4 (not in exhibition), 11.

Louisville 2009–12
Louisville: Speed Art Museum (exhibited with the permanent collection). No catalogue. Cat. 7.

St. Louis 2011
Dreamscapes. St. Louis: Pulitzer Foundation for the Arts. Cat. 9.

Basel 2011–12
Max Beckmann: The Landscapes. Catalogue by Bernhard Mendes Bürgi and Nina Peter. Basel: Kunstmuseum Basel; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz. Cats. 11, 25 (not in exhibition), 39 (not in exhibition).

Frankfurt 2011–12
Beckmann & America. Catalogue edited by Jutta Schütt. Frankfurt am Main: Städel Museum; Ostfildern: Hatje Cantz. Cats. 7 (not in exhibition), 8 (not in exhibition), 27, 28 (not in exhibition), 29 (not in exhibition), 30, 32 (not in exhibition), 34 (not in exhibition), 35 (not in exhibition), 36 (not in exhibition), 37, 38 (not in exhibition), 39 (not in exhibition).

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